



LINCOLN LODGE SEMINAR

on educational television

JUNE, 1953

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on Educational Television

PROCEEDINGS

Edited by BURTON PAULU

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF EDUCATIONAL BROADCASTERS

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EDITOR'S PREFACE

The educational broadcasters whose names are listed at the end of this volume spent the week of June 21-27, 1953, at the University of Wisconsin in an intensive "think session" about educational television. They came together at the invitation of the National Association of Educational Broadcasters to clarify and appraise the contribution that educational television stations can make to the service of the American people.

Expenses of the meeting were covered by a grant to the NAEB by the Fund for Adult Education.

Three general subject areas were considered by the seminar: (1) the role of educational television stations; (2) the nature and needs of the television audience; and (3) the resources from which educational television programs may be developed to meet these needs.

Six resource persons addressed the group on items 1 and 2 of this agenda. Their statements were recorded as the basis for the summary articles they prepared for these published proceedings.

During the last three days of the session five committees of seminar members drew up reports covering the main subjects discussed. Edited versions of these also are included in this volume.

Burton Paulu
Manager of KUOM
NAEB Vice President

Minneapolis
September 1953

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PAPERS

THE SOCIAL ROLE OF THE EDUCATIONAL TELEVISION STATION

Harold D. Lasswell
Professor of Law and Political Science
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The appearance of television as the latest outcome of the communications revolution gives us a new educational opportunity of the kind that we almost threw away in the case of radio. This is no time for modest aspirations. There is always a gap between what we would like to see and what actually happens, and our task right now is to cut down this gap so far as educational television is concerned. And we want to cut it down by bringing the facts closer to our goals and not by adjusting our goals downward to meet the facts.

The opportunity is to make of this new instrument an effective means of accomplishing the purposes of a free society. We speak of the consequences for society as a whole because we are taking a professional point of view toward the problem. One of the most important distinctions between the approach of the professional and the non-professional man is that the professional mind is concerned with the social aggregate. The professional looks at the values of a given community and estimates what is being done and what can be done to realize its goals.

Consider the viewpoint of a physician. He is a member of a specialized skill group whose responsibility is to reduce ill health and to increase well-being in society as a whole. It is not only his job to arrive at immediate therapies for people suffering from disease or defect. His job is to enlarge the stock of knowledge on the basis of

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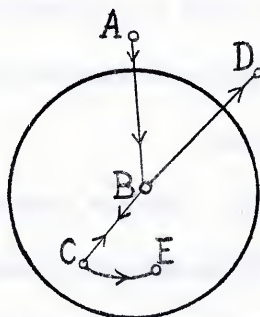
which better therapies can be developed in the future, and more effective preventive measures can be put into operation.

In our approach to the opportunities of educational television we are taking the viewpoint of the educator and the communicator. In part our responsibility is to clarify our thinking about the values we are trying to serve. A professional is articulate about his social values. The discovery of the patterns which serve collective values in concrete circumstances is the task of developing the content of the profession.

I

Educational communication covers two sets of closely related activities: the transmission of skill, the transmission of current intelligence. The first part of the job, the transmitting of skill, has been talked about a good deal. This includes reading, writing and arithmetic; and in fact embraces all the skills of the social inheritance. The second part is less often looked into. Educational communication includes the flow of news and comment on the basis of which there can be rational participation in community affairs.

What we are talking about may be put in perspective if we think of the communication process in its entirety. Let the diagram stand for a community (or indeed any organism) in relation to its environment. Three communication functions can be distinguished, which we shall call surveillance, correlation and pedagogy. Surveillance supplies



information about what is going on in the environment. The correlation function

unifies the response of the community to the environmental challenge. The pedagogical function is to transmit the experience of the past to the next generation. Note that point A is outside the circle, which indicates the usual habitat of the community. The line from A to B stands for a message that originates with an outside observer of the environment. He sends it back to someone inside the community. If B stands for a news or radio desk a great many messages come streaming in and are relayed in various forms to the next audience, which often is a large one. The circuits are indicated by the line from B to C, which may represent broadcasts to listening or viewing audiences. The arrows on the line that connects B and C point both ways, suggesting that messages are moving from C to B as well as from B to C. The counter-movement is part of the total mobilization of the community toward the information received about the environment. People talk to one another, and initiate or support various policies toward the situation. The communication line from B to D shows the part of community response that takes the form of instructions to D to sign or not to sign an agreement, for instance. The line from C to E stands for the pedagogical function. Some members of the community specialize in transmitting current lore to youngsters or strangers, or in renovating the skill of adults.

We may let the diagram stand for a single living organism, in which case the incoming messages are those which are supplied by specialized sensory organs, like the eye or the ear. These agencies survey the environment in order to detect whatever concerns the value position of the animal. The flow of messages to and from the component parts of the organism are the acts of correlation in the course of which the animal prepares to respond to the environment, whether by standing fast, reaching for food, seeking to destroy an enemy, or fleeing from an overwhelming menace.

The social insects and the animals that move in flocks and herds reveal similar specializations. Some animals post sentinels at short distances from the herd to signal when something suspicious occurs. The mobilization of the flock or the herd may

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call for a tremendous buzzing of communication which serves to alert, align and direct the response of the whole.

Consider the nation from the perspective we have been tracing. We send specialized observers abroad in the shape of diplomatic attachés, foreign correspondents, espionage agents, and the like. To perform the correlation function we have an intricate network of mass and specialized media, and many circuits of a two-way kind. And of course the institutions devoted to pedagogy are prominent in every culture.

Appraise the local community in this frame of reference. Members of the community may be away at different seasons of the year, sending back messages that range from "Having wonderful time, wish you were here" to reports on what goes on at the state capital or at Washington or in Moscow that has some significance for the life, liberty and pursuit of happiness of the whole. Radio and television stations contribute to the performance of the surveillance and the correlation functions. In addition, they transmit skill. It is obvious that educational television has a fundamental place in the social process, and that the effectiveness with which this job is done can affect the quality of the decisions made by the community. This is true of every community in the ever-enlarging circle from neighborhood to town to metropolis, and up to the region, the nation and the international coalition.

II

Having located educational television in this broad context, suppose we look at it in a more intensive frame of reference. The following questions are always pertinent in reference to any act or process of communication:

Who
Says What
To Whom
In What Medium
To What Audience
With What Effect?

The first question concerning "Who" asks for the significant characteristics of people with a controlling influence over the communications of a given community through a specified period. In answering it is important to choose the characteristics which have an impact on what is selected for dissemination. For instance, who are the educational broadcasters and telecasters? We can think of a number of traits likely to affect what they put into programs. If they have been teachers they may be interested in particular kinds of educational courses. Now that Professor Lloyd Warner and his associates have made everybody conscious about class, we also ask whether the educational communicators are upper, middle or lower class, and how this is likely to influence their taste and sense of responsibility for public service. We ask about individual affiliations, taking note of religious, fraternal and related connections. There are, of course, personality factors. Some communicators border on agitational activities, unless they have the gift to be agitated by noncontroversial matters. They sometimes sense that if they get excited about aesthetics rather than foreign politics their days may be longer in the land. Or they may get inspired by gadgets, which are less controversial than social legislation.

Up to this point we have been talking about the educational broadcasters as though they ran the facilities. A more comprehensive analysis calls for a study of who provides the money (with what expectations), who appoints whom, who is likely to fire whom under what circumstances, and the like. No one needs to be told that if educational communication is to succeed, it must have the sponsorship of control boards of respected citizens who are genuinely devoted to the ideal values of American life and determined to implement them as fully as practicable.

The question of "what" calls for an examination of the content of programs. We shall not have time to develop this point, but it is worth calling attention to the fact that some of the most important content may not be planned. The image of the scholar and the social scientist may be very distorted, for example, as a result of unconscious factors in program and personnel selection. It is easy to have all "talk" sessions in

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which the participants exchange opinions with great glibness, and fail to get across the idea that their opinions are the result of careful observation and analysis of facts. The lay audience may become aware only of the opinion and not of the methods by which it is tested and disciplined. The physical scientist does not usually fall into this trap, since he is likely to stay close to his laboratory or observatory. Ultimately the purpose of describing content is to investigate the response of the audience. But great care is needed to describe the programs themselves in significant ways, since content studies may show on their face that the aims of the station are not being fulfilled.

One of our questions deals directly with the medium ("in what medium?"). All of us are concerned with discovering the relative role of television and radio, for example, in various communication activities. Consider instrumental music. Will there be a point of diminishing returns on the televising of bald-headed string sections and pot-bellied brass choirs in symphony orchestras? Similarly what is the appropriate balance between viewing the session of a legislative body and summarizing it in words?

The "to whom" question concerned the audience. I suppose that if there's anything modern communication research has emphasized it is that social impact depends more on the pivotal position of an audience than on its size. It is true that we may find it necessary to say that vast numbers of people have been exposed to our programs (if it is necessary to impress an appropriations committee). But most of us would like to get some results in addition to appropriations; and there is always the possibility of being able to share one's full thought with an appropriations committee. (This, of course, is a working definition of Utopia.) The point is that public opinion is a complicated process in which key leaders come to exercise a disproportionately strong influence on their fellow citizens on various questions. A man at the work bench may have travelled far and wide; and he may be listened to on foreign policy matters. The local banker may be genuinely respected for his good judgment and civic mindedness, so that his word on housing appropriations carries weight.

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It may be that educational broadcasters should aim at serving the public by giving special service to those whom the public takes with particular seriousness. That is, the aim of some programs may be to build up a listening or viewing audience of opinion moulders. There is no need to say that other people are not welcome to listen in, and of course that would not be true. But the main point would be to make important material accessible to the most active and influential leaders. (This, by the way, was the principal technique that our broadcasters cultivated during the War. Although one was nominally talking to the whole enemy audience, the chief targets were often a thousand or even a smaller number of decision and morale makers. In the name of a very large audience it is often wise to aim at a very small audience in fact.)

Our last question about a process of communication concerned "effect." And of course the final test is what happens to the audience. But do we want any more than their attention and enough approval to keep in business?

Obviously, the answer is yes. As professionals in the field of educational communication we recognize a more serious responsibility than getting big audiences and maintaining our gifts or appropriations. Our aim is to implement the ideal goals of American life. What makes the challenge interesting is that it must be done with enough skill to win ultimate support. Non-commercial broadcasting must be something added to the raw fact of survival. This is the meaning of being non-commercial. The community looks to the non-commercial facilities to provide a service which they dimly feel they have not had. The non-commercial facilities must be more inventive and pace-setting in public service than the commercial facilities. The aim is not to discourage the commercial facilities from competing, but rather to level up the service available to the American public.

III

Let us be more definite about objectives. What are we trying to accomplish in the name of the ideal values of American life? Obviously the goals must be stated in terms

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of the social processes of this country. How do we want to play our part in this process?

Perhaps we can make the question clearer if we use a brief outline of the social process. Let us speak of it as:

Man
Seeking Values
Through Institutions
Using Resources.

The "values" are the categories of preferred events, the chief gratifications that people want. The "institutions" are the patterns by which values are shaped and shared.

It is not important that all should use the same list of values to describe society. But we need such a list for purposes of communication. So I propose to introduce such a list, wholly for the sake of convenience, and not as a recommendation that you adopt the identical list.

Well-being is a value. It means health, safety and comfort. The institutions of a community specialized to well-being include organized agencies like hospitals, and un-organized patterns of action like popular health habits.

Wealth is a value. We refer to goods and services (or claims to goods and services). All the mines, farms, factories, warehouses, retail shops, offices, and the like belong among the economic institutions. Wealth also includes the standard of living.

A third value in our list is skill (and taste). People are interested in maturing talent into skill, whether it is a question of manual dexterity, bodily strength, intellectual ability, musical creativeness, or aesthetic judgment.

Respect is a social value. People give or withhold deference from one another, with the result that the community can be described according to upper, middle and lower social class structure. A social class is not a caste. (We have caste when individuals cannot change position.)

Enlightenment is a value, the one with which we are most immediately implicated in educational radio and television. Enlightenment refers to the stream of information

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on the basis of which pertinent choices can be made. The institutions include the mass media, and schools devoted to civic instruction.

A further value is affection. It means the giving and receiving of love and comradeship. Among the special institutions we number families, cliques and fraternities.

Rectitude is a social value. It is the demand to be looked up to as a responsible human being. Among the prominent rectitude institutions of our civilization is the church, which formulates articulate standards of right and wrong, and applies them to specific persons and circumstances.

The last item is power, or the sanctioned choices of the community. The distinctive institution is government, which is specialized on the handling of community coercion.

In summary:

<u>Value</u>	<u>Institution (example)</u>
Well-being	Hospitals
Wealth	Factories, living standards
Skill	Crafts, standards of taste
Respect	Social classes
Enlightenment	Mass media, civic instruction
Affection	Families, fraternities
Rectitude	Churches
Power	Government, parties, pressure groups

Since this list is not in general use, it may be helpful to show how it can be related to research and teaching programs. Consider power, for instance. There are political scientists who study government, and students of international relations and diplomatic history who concentrate on world politics.

Consider rectitude. It is the chief concern of scholars of church history, the sociology of religion, and comparative codes of morality. Affection: There are specialists on family institutions, notably among sociologists. Enlightenment: Here is where the schools of journalism and specialists on public opinion come in. Respect: Social anthropologists describe the social structure of communities in this country and abroad.

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Skill: Economists and sociologists study the various occupations and professions, and art historians deal with aesthetic standards and the creative operations involved in painting, sculpture and other arts. Wealth: Obviously this is the province of the economist. Well-being: The specialists on public health are involved in this.

IV

We can now return to the principal question: How do we relate ourselves to the social process? It is clear that as skill specialists we function chiefly in the skill transmitting and enlightenment activities of society. At every point we are confronted by the need of choosing among the many alternatives that confront us in terms of program topic, personnel, and so on. And if we apply a professional viewpoint, it must be clear what results we are trying to get. What, indeed, are we after?

This is a delicate question in an audience of American educators, in particular, because a great many Americans think that being democratic is to state no moral preferences, and to deny that you are trying to accomplish anything. I haven't time to go into the pathology of this aberration. I can only challenge the idea as a danger to the American tradition. A free society needs free men, men who are voluntarily devoted to clarifying and applying the basic goals of the nation. As professional people it is our responsibility to state these goals, and to work at putting them into effect. What we do influences the shaping and sharing of values at the local and even the national level no matter how slightly. If we are to act rationally and with full rectitude we must do the best we can to see that results are consistent with the underlying values of the American tradition.

The core of this tradition can be stated briefly. No doubt we have special ways of using words about it. But luckily for those of us who have been reared in American civilization there is consensus on fundamentals. I shall formulate my conception of the American ideal (and my own goal values) in these terms: "The fundamental aim is to achieve human dignity in theory and fact. To accomplish this is to achieve a community in which there is abundant participation in the sharing of all values."

Not many of us will reject the ideal of human dignity and thereby commit ourselves to a social order in which human indignity is the goal. But when we pass from the general formula to concrete institutions to be identified with human dignity, difficulties begin. But these uncertainties are the usual problems of any healthy society. Human institutions are always imperfect and even those which have served their purpose in the past may need renovation. We do not expect to change our goals but we will often change our minds about the specific practices that are most consistent with human dignity in concrete circumstances. You and I do not have to have closed minds on such perplexing problems of institutions adjustment as these: What system of taxation best strengthens the economy without fostering monopoly and endangering the economic basis of popular rule? What adjustment of governmental and private agencies will best maintain the bodily and psychic health of the nation? What methods of exploiting oil and other national resources will contribute to the long-run interests of the nation? What system of universal military training, if any, should be inaugurated as a means of national security? What level of defense expenditure should be sustained in this bipolarized world in which an armament race of unprecedented severity is going on?

I mention these sample questions as reminders of the point that the choice of institutional solutions is not the automatic result of a declaration of adherence to long-range goals. But without the long-range goals we are left without a frame of reference that challenges us to consider the side effects as well as the direct effects of any specific solution. By learning to think of the social process as a whole, and to consider its relationship to human dignity, we provide an inner discipline for the nation's thinking.

V

It is in this connection that our role as educators and communicators can be made more definite. Observe that our commitment to the ideal objectives of the American tradition does not transform us into propagandists. If that is what educators are afraid of when they are asked to take a fundamental stand on values, they can relax. Our

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concern for human dignity prevents us from playing the role of propagandists with the American public. We are responsible for enlightenment, and in this role we operate a forum where it is true that propagandists may appear. But we run the forum. Others make the propaganda. It is our job to give the propagandists full access to the channels of enlightenment, subject to the proviso that we are responsible to the audience for making it clear that they are propagandists. It is the unidentified propagandist who may get away with something; we can take a chance with the others.

If we are to foster the enlightenment function what must be done? Our programs need to contribute to a comprehensive image of the whole social context:

- The goals of the community
- The trends in the realization of these goals
- The conditioning factors that have affected the realization of trends
- The projection of probable lines of development into the future
- The reporting and appraisal of alternative policies of action.

In this outline we are talking about our direct contribution to the opinion forming processes of a free society. It is a matter of projecting and clarifying the goal values of the community, which involves providing authoritative reminders of the great tradition, as incorporated in historic documents, historic deeds and historic figures. It is a matter of keeping alive the consideration of fundamentals, together with efforts at re-definition of alternative ideas in concrete terms. Here is where television can perform a peculiarly important function, since television is a visual medium, and as such is able to provide the experience of a word and its referent at the same moment. The link between a sign and what is signified is a powerful engine of communication that we can employ to unify the nation on fundamentals.

We spoke of trends. Here it is a question of keeping alive the appraisal of American (and indeed global) life in terms of the goal values of human dignity. It is easy for such fundamental frames of reference to drop out of sight in the dust of everyday events, especially since it is nobody's job to report on whether we are moving nearer or farther from some clear, though provisional, conception of democracy. We have people

whose business it is to say whether stocks are rising or falling, or whether the wheat acreage is expanding or contracting, or whether more or less money is being spent on cigarettes. But what this adds up to in terms of the strengthening or weakening of our fundamental institutions is more speculative, and calls for critical and careful evaluation of the available scraps of evidence.

No discussion of historical trend is as helpful as it ought to be unless it calls our attention to the conditioning factors that make it intelligible. No doubt you have seen David Riesman's discussion of The Lonely Crowd in which he joins with the interpreters of modern culture who emphasize the alienation of masses of the people from a full sense of participation. He calls attention to a great many factors in modern industrial civilization that make these processes seem clearer. Certainly part of our responsibility in connection with enlightenment is to make certain that such serious interpretations of American life are accessible to all.

Another dimension of the problem of providing a community context is to develop a common image of the future. Our choices always depend upon assumptions about the shape of things to be. We are always revising estimates of prosperity or depression, war or peace, and other contingencies. It is the great contribution of the media of communication to provide well-instructed guesses about the future.

Finally, we come to the presenting and appraising of action alternatives before the community. This is a question of policy analysis. In this connection the educational broadcaster must win the confidence of the audience that he is performing a public service in a professionally competent manner. And this depends upon making it clear that in his capacity as a public servant the broadcaster is under an obligation to report on what the controversial opinions are which are taken seriously in various decision making circles at home and abroad. Not only must he report the fact of controversy, but he is obligated to summarize the opinion. And the discussion of the pros and cons needs to proceed without restrictions other than those which are necessary to the orderly operation of a forum.

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VI

Summing up the conception of the social role of educational television that has been outlined here, we may emphasize the importance of comprehending the scope of the operation in terms of the entire social process. We are concerned with communication, and the basic functions of communication have been formulated in terms of surveillance, correlation and pedagogy. We have examined the act of educational communication through the mass media in reference to a specialized list of questions: Who says what to whom in what medium to what audience with what effect? And we have put the act of communication in the fundamental framework of the social process: man pursuing values through institutions using resources. Of the value-institution processes, enlightenment and skill are the two in which educational communicators are most intimately involved. If the flow of public decisions and private choices in any given community are to be made more rational in terms of the basic goals of the society, the stream of communication must perform several vital functions. In particular, it is essential that the members of the community come to possess images of the goals, trends, conditions, projections and alternatives which they have in common.

It is not the province of educational television to take over all the operations concerned with public enlightenment. But it is within the scope of those in charge of this new instrument to plug the gaps among existing agencies, to invent new model-ways of doing things, and to evolve a professional overview of the community process as a whole.

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Donald Horton
Assistant Professor of Sociology
University of Chicago

I will spend most of my time reporting on the work of the University of Chicago's Committee on Educational Television.* But first let me make a few comments on my announced topic--the role of research. It seems to me that defining the role of the educational television station is not a research problem. This is a problem of social action, and its solution can only be determined on the basis of social and educational policy and values. All of you involved in it share with the institutions building and supporting television stations responsibility for determining what educational television shall do, and in what direction it will go.

I

Research can help in a number of ways. It can't help in defining the objective, but it can, when the time comes, do a great deal by way of measuring your achievement. I hope that, as educational television develops, a good deal of experimentation with the assessment of its efficiency and success will be undertaken.

Another type of research of some value to you might be called operational research. I have in mind studies of the operation of a television station, and comparisons of different ways of operating a station and of integrating it with the community or school

* University of Chicago Committee on Educational Television, Television and the University. (Available from Radio Office, University of Chicago)

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system, for example. It might also be profitable to have someone keep an account of what goes on and report to you periodically on different experiments conducted in the organization of stations and their operations.

There's a third area of research. If we called the first "measurement of achievement," and the second "operational research," the third might be the general study of conditions under which you operate as educational broadcasters. This, of course, is an enormous area and it's scarcely profitable even to talk about it without breaking it down into a few tentative categories. In a very narrow sense, there is what might be called "instrumental research"--research oriented very narrowly towards the use of television as an instrument of communication. Wilbur Schramm has done a nice job of summarizing some research of this kind in his memorandum "What May We Realistically Expect of Educational Television." He has summarized practically everything of significance in the field of experimental studies on the effectiveness of film, radio and television, and I don't need to say any more on the use of these media as teaching devices.

Another type of research that you yourselves have sponsored--and you've produced more of this kind of research than anybody else--is what we might call the study of competitive conditions. I have in mind here your monitoring studies. These were designed to give a general overview of the commercial broadcasting situation which represents one of the major conditions under which educational television has come into existence and will operate--the kind of competition it will have to meet. In particular, as you know, the objective in the monitoring studies was to show the lacks and gaps that educational television might be expected to fill.

There is probably room for a considerable amount of research on public opinion with respect to television. You have already had many indications of public dissatisfaction with commercial television, and of an atmosphere of receptivity to the development of noncommercial educational stations. You may not need to bolster your own

DONALD HORTON

confidence in your case by such research data, but I think you might some time consider undertaking a full-scale public opinion study, say along the lines of the Lazarsfeld study of people's attitudes toward radio. I don't know of anybody else who is going to do this. I doubt that the commercial interests will, and it seems to me that might be a very profitable enterprise for you.

Research can make a still more fundamental contribution. In operating your stations and devising your programs, you will or should be relying on everything that's known scientifically about our society. That is to say, you should be drawing on all the resources of the social sciences. I'm thinking of the social sciences in particular because your task is peculiarly a social task.

This kind of research information will be useful to you in at least two ways. In the first place, you will need to know a good deal about the communities in which you are operating, so you will naturally draw upon all the systematic and scientific knowledge that's available with respect to the interests of the community. This is the kind of information that political scientists, sociologists and others will be able to provide.

Then, on the other hand, in designing programs, you also will want to take into account what is known with respect to their subject matter. I think, for example, of the two-sided character of the problem faced when you consider producing programs, say of special interest to adolescents. We now have a great deal of sociological knowledge about the American adolescent, about his situation in American life, the kinds of problems he faces, the way he deals with those problems, the special attitudes he develops, etc. If you were doing a program or a series of programs designed to appeal to adolescents or dealing with the problems of adolescents, you would have to draw on this information. For that purpose, you'd bring in an expert in this field. You may also find it profitable to sponsor new studies of the adolescents in your own community because there will be variations on the general American theme; and the more you know about the concrete character of this problem in your community, the better you will be

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able to orient your broadcasting in this direction. And you'll need the same experts to help you in constructing the program itself.

It seems to me that these are some of the major kinds of contributions research can make. I might add that I think a very important contribution of research to the television operation will be periodic assessment of the general public attitude toward your operation as a whole. You'll want to know how you stand, not just with regard to particular programs, but what people think of your station and your service as compared with commercial services. I think there are a lot of other aspects of the community response into which you will want to inquire through systematic research. Measurement of achievement defined in this very broad way (the kind of operational research that I've suggested), along with the great variety of studies that will, in one way or another, contribute to the effectiveness with which you are able to use this instrument and to design a program schedule and specific programs for it, constitute the possible contributions of research.

But nowhere in this do I see anything that corresponds to the notion that research can show the specific role of the educational television station.

II

Now as to the University of Chicago report. This was the work of a group of faculty members brought together to advise the Chancellor on what the University could do in educational television. Everything they said was limited by this perspective. The object was, in every case, to think of this particular University, of its particular resources, and of its particular role in regard to one educational television station.

The assumption was made that we were concerned only with what our University could do. Therefore, other problems of educational television not properly the responsibility of the University of Chicago were not discussed. We made the fundamental assumption that an educational television station is a community station. And we thought of ourselves at the University as playing a role among the institutions of the community that

would utilize this facility. In the background we had the notion that there were many things we might conceivably do, but which other institutions in the community could do better. We never assumed that the work of such a station would be entirely devoted to education in the narrow sense, but rather that it would serve in some way as a facility for many institutions and groups in the community, and that their use of it would be justified by a very broad definition of the term "educational."

We took it for granted that this station would not only be used by the teaching institutions, the universities and schools, and by museums and historical societies, but that it would probably develop programs in which many other groups would participate. For example, in Chicago today groups are being organized all over the city for neighborhood improvement to counteract the rapid spread of slum conditions. We took it for granted that such civic organizations would, in one way or another, have access to the television facilities. If one tried to envision the total programming, the total schedule, the total function of such a station, it would be very much broader than anything that we at the University contributed, and ours would only be a small part of the total.

Another of our basic assumptions appears rather late in the report and is introduced rather casually, but in our own thinking about the problem of the University in television this assumption was quite important: the educational television operation establishes a new kind of relationship between producers, productions, and viewers; and this new kind of relationship should be thought about, developed and exploited. I want to say a few words in explanation of this second basic assumption.

Here we had to meet and deal with some objections we considered not well founded. When we talked to our colleagues we learned that many of them took the attitude that some other medium could do a particular job better than television. We had to reply that although there were certain things we could probably do very much better with a daily newspaper of national distribution, we at the University have no such newspaper and never

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will have; but we did have the opportunity to participate in a community television station. That's the fact and there's no use being concerned with ideal conditions that never could be met.

It has been argued, for example, by some faculty members, that television is a very poor medium for transmitting ideas because the best way to transmit ideas is conceptually in speech, written speech particularly, and that television with its visual emphasis is distracting and hampers this kind of communication. We simply had to say that we had no better mass medium for this purpose, and that our problem was to experiment with television and improve it as a means of transmitting concepts.

The assumption that educational television establishes a new kind of relationship between producers, productions and viewers is suggested by the fact that educational television is a local community enterprise. The institutions by which it is operated and which speak through the educational channel are local enterprises with which the viewer is already connected. He may be connected only as a taxpayer--a fairly remote connection; but nevertheless, insofar as this is a local community enterprise, these institutions are in some degree responsible to him, and he is in one way or another connected with them independently of television. This is not true, of course, in the case of the commercial broadcasting company.

Commercial television assiduously cultivates the sense of a viewer's direct relationship with the performers. All sorts of devices are used, as you know, in entertainment programs to create the illusion of a direct personal relationship between yourself as a viewer and the performers: the informality of manner that's been developed in many television shows; the forms of direct address that are constantly used; and the solicitation of response from the home audience, the studio audience or both. All of this sets up a situation which perceptually is one in which you seem to be in a face-to-face personal relationship with the performer.

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But in commercial broadcasting, the producing organization--the commercial enterprise behind the scenes--is studiously ignored, one might even say concealed. The viewer knows that there is a commercial network or company, but he knows nothing about it. When does the viewer ever see the officers of the company or network? When is he ever given any insight into the operations of their organization? When is he ever treated to a candid discussion of their plans and their purposes in relation to himself, and of the problems they face and are solving by the changes they make? When is he ever given any explanation for a program going off the air or one coming on, or somebody being dropped, or a format being changed? All of this is none of his business!

But in the case of the community television station, we should expect a different kind of relationship with the audience, not only between the performers and the viewer, but between the station and its personnel and the viewer, and between the viewer and the institutions which assume ultimate responsibility for the station. I should say, and I think that in the background of the discussion of our committee this was recognized, that from our point of view this represents something new in television broadcasting.

The community station has nothing to conceal from its audience: that is, it has no purpose that cannot be frankly exposed and criticized, and itself made a matter of discussion in programs produced by the station. It rests upon a genuinely democratic foundation. The institutions responsible for the station and its work are responsible directly as well as indirectly to the community that supports them; and the audience of the community station has rights with respect to the programs broadcast that are not limited to the right to approve or disapprove, and the right to turn the program off--this great fundamental American right that the commercial broadcasters tell us we have.

The audience of the community station, it seemed to us, has other rights than these and much more significant ones. It has a right which I know it will assert (even if in these early days you find this right is not being asserted)--the right to take part in the formulation of program policy, even to participate in program production through

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membership in the sponsoring institutions. And it has a right, which I think will be exercised, to be given an accounting by those who serve as trustees of the enterprise.

As you all know, this will be the state of affairs that will produce most of the headaches. If it doesn't produce headaches, I don't know what will! But I wonder if we couldn't accept the notion of the healthy headache. As I understand it, democracy is often a very strenuous and painful condition. The painless kind is apt to be spurious: witness the so-called cultural democracy of commercial broadcasting. This is painless democracy: all the decisions are made upstairs, all the information is collected by commercial research people, and the audience doesn't have to do anything except sit back and wait for the kinds of program that the great majority will approve.

The kind of democracy that will operate in the case of the community station is a much more strenuous and painful kind. But in it, of course, we see the possibilities for all kinds of developments, the progress and the creativeness that will make the community station something to be proud of. In short, we think of the relationship between the audience and the broadcaster in community television as one of actual or potential involvement in the work of the station itself; the audience does more than just view programs.

III

A third assumption which we all agreed upon may, in a way, be simply a corollary of the first. For community television the conception of the audience as essentially passive is unacceptable. Throughout our discussion we took it for granted that it's an objective of the community station to involve its audience in actual rather than vicarious activities. So, for example, we have suggested that members of the audience might be able to take part in mass scientific experiments or observations. We had quite interesting discussions about this, and various scientists in the University suggested various ways in which large numbers of people might be able to make significant contributions.

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We also emphasized in this report programs that would be directed toward the special interests of organized groups, and have underlined the possible coordination of broadcasting with the distribution of printed material, the stimulation of group discussion and the like. You'll find, for example, that we suggested one of the functions of the University would be to produce programs for various professional groups, designed to keep them informed on current scientific developments in their fields. It was pointed out that not only doctors and dentists, but lawyers and chemists and physicists employed in industrial plants, for example, all have the problem of keeping up with their fields and receiving explanations of the latest developments, and that one of the functions of the University could very well be to provide, by prior arrangement with professional associations, programs for this purpose.

Of course, it's obviously within the schools that this kind of coordination of broadcasting and group action will be the most highly developed. Robert Shayon out at WOI-TV, in his series, "The Whole Town's Talking," has given us a brilliant demonstration of how this kind of relationship may also be worked out in the public sphere.

We cannot deny that for many programs the passive role is appropriate, nor that many viewers will remain passive with respect to all programs. I can see that the concept of action might easily be turned into a shibboleth just as the notion of passivity has been, and that we could go to the opposite extreme of emphasizing this, but my chief purpose here was to spell out another of the implications of my first assumption.

Our fourth assumption was that the specific role of the University in the community station is to provide a background of knowledge in depth for the understanding and enjoyment of life. I think that generally speaking we recognized two phases of this knowledge in depth.

First we thought of knowledge in depth for an understanding of contemporary social and political problems, and we thought that the University had a special obligation in this area. The other might be called cultural depth. We got into a considerable amount of

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discussion about what would be acceptable to the public, particularly with respect to the great cultural resources of our civilization. To put it in the most obvious terms, a discussion of whether or not it's profitable for a University to try to interest people in such subjects as French Literature of the Eighteenth Century or the Nineteenth Century English novel. The discussion usually came down to whether the average American was interested in such things or would pay any attention to them. The discussion led to a consideration of what it takes to be able to enjoy these aspects of our heritage. Most people, and particularly University people who deal with students who have already gone through a long course of education, tend to underestimate how much training and preparation are necessary before one reaches the level of sophistication necessary for the enjoyment of the arts.

So one of our basic notions became this: that one of the functions of the University in educational television would be to try to develop the kind of understanding of past cultural epochs that is prerequisite to the enjoyment of their arts and literature.

In the world of the commercial broadcasters there are really only two categories of citizens--the lowbrows and the highbrows--and from the broadcasters' point of view there are very few highbrows, insignificant from a commercial viewpoint, but there are great masses of lowbrows. This is the way the world is, they say, and under the doctrine of cultural democracy this is the way we leave it; we simply provide programs suitable for the lowbrows.

Now the academic world is one of cultural responsibility, and as long as we believe--if we really believe--that there are profound human values in the arts and literature of the past and of the high arts of our own time, as distinguished from the popular arts, we must assume responsibility for making them available to the great masses of people. And that, our Committee assumed, is one of the basic functions of the community television station. But in order to make them available, it will be necessary to provide the cultural training that one must have in order to make sense

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out of Shakespeare or Michelangelo or Tolstoi. I think if we were all honest with ourselves we would admit that one has to have a great deal of preparation for understanding the works of these men.

From a research point of view I'm rather intrigued by this particular problem--the problem presented by the lowbrow-highbrow dichotomy in contemporary society; and I think we ought to know a great deal more than we do about it. I don't think we ought to take the attitude that we have to find out what the public will accept, and then give them that. What we really ought to be doing is finding out more about this public. We're not going to learn much when commercial research shows time and again that highbrow productions get small audiences, and that's the end of the matter. A few such productions may be kept on for prestige purposes, but it has become a cliché that these don't have mass appeal.

We ought not take this for granted. We ought not take for granted that we understand why this is so. As a matter of fact, if you think about it, it seems very peculiar that it should be so. If it's true that the kinds of programs the highbrow audience is interested in express the highest values of our civilization, and that the people who appreciate them are the most cultivated people our civilization produces, why does it necessarily follow that all the rest of the people should find them uninteresting and unacceptable? To me that seems to be a problem rather than something that's obvious. We ought to be asking what it is, from the viewpoint of the man in the street, that characterizes the highbrow in literature and art. What is it that he's rejecting? Is it merely that he lacks historical knowledge which, as I've suggested, is required for a full appreciation of highbrow art in terms of its contemporary context? Is that all there is to it?

Or does the man in the street identify the high arts with women's interests and values, as some students of American life have suggested? Does he respond with some sense of guilt or attitude of rejection left over from his school days? Is his attitude a

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protest against the social inequalities of education and taste that seem to be intrinsic to our present social class system? Is it particularly the quality of neurotic egocentrism that runs through so much of modern art that he's sensitive to? I pose these questions in order to suggest a perspective. The general problem is: why are quality programs rejected? I don't think we really know, and I think this is one of the things we should not take for granted and which we should be inquiring into in every way we know how. If we are able to answer some of these questions about the attitude of the man in the street, then I think that we would know better how to run community television enterprises successfully.

IV

The final assumption is one that I suppose is fairly obvious. It refers to what I call the "developmental perspective" of community television. As we all know, the objective of commercial broadcasting, as of all the commercial mass media, is to achieve stability, to set up a kind of system that can go on year after year, preferably in the same old routine, because the less change there is the less expense, the less bother, the fewer new problems, and the fewer difficulties to be faced. All the force of these great enterprises is directed toward protecting these systems and keeping them, so far as possible, in a state of equilibrium. Every new development that in any sense threatens to upset the equilibrium of the system is opposed with tremendous energy just as community television is opposed.

But we take it for granted that community television assumes the risk of change, and that it assumes the responsibility for bringing its audience along with it instead of allowing any settling down into routine to take place. We made the assumption that this kind of operation must always and will always be experimental, creative, willing to assume risk, willing to make boners, willing to produce turkeys, and willing to produce programs that will become controversial.

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We also emphasized in our report--and we found this very important for discussion with our faculty--that educational television will experiment with cumulative programming, with programs in which it's assumed, as it is in the classroom or in a lecture series, that the audience will remain with the program and will learn from one production to the next. That is to say, we shall have some possibility of developing our audiences.

We're assuming that schools will not simply be teaching by means of television, but that they will be teaching the students how to evaluate television, what to expect from television, how to look at it, and teaching them to accept programs at a level which they would not otherwise be able to achieve. We assume cultivation of an audience through collaboration with other organizations than schools. We're assuming, in other words, that a process of education goes along with broadcasting.

All of this presupposes that we have a long term perspective, a perspective very different from that of commercial broadcasting. We can think in terms of generations of viewers. Of course we're realistic enough to know that the state legislatures and others who put up the money are going to be asking for results. Obviously we'll have results to show them. But what we're talking about here is the maximum achievement of community television, an achievement that will depend upon the gradual development of the audience.

There are other assumptions, more or less explicitly stated in the published report of our Committee, but I think I have discussed the important ones. It should be observed that the assumptions we make have immediate implications for our criteria of success. That is, defining what constitutes success depends upon these basic assumptions in which we formulate what we're doing and what we want to accomplish.

For example, our emphasis clearly should not be on sheer size of audience but on cumulative effect, and not on the effect of individual programs, but on changes and developments in the audience over some considerable period of time. We should also consider a cumulative increase in involvement in the television work itself on the part of members of

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various institutions and organizations in the community to be one of the criteria of success on the basis of our assumptions.

On the assumption of the long-term continuity of the operation, the cultivation of a following would be an important thing to look for. This would suggest that, in addition to the usual measurements of size of audience, we would need a measurement of intensity of interest in and devotion to the work of the station. Finally one should be looking for new audience attitudes, especially arising through the development, say in the schools, of new critical values to be applied to what people see, values we hope will be applied to programs received from commercial and education television stations alike.

TELEVISION AND OTHER MEDIA

Edgar Dale
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One fact more than any other distinguishes the field of work in which all of us have been engaged in the last ten, twenty or thirty years--whether radio, the film, television, or the audio-visual field in general. We have never had a chance to catch our breath. Before we knew how to make and use the silent film, the 16 mm. sound film was on us. Before we learned how to use radio, television was on our heels. Apparently we must follow the rule for living which Satchell Paige gave: "Don't look back, something may be gaining on you." We're also somewhat in the position of the lady in 1932 who said that it was too bad we had all this unemployment at the same time as we were having the depression.

We face this problem because hundreds of millions of dollars are being successfully spent upon mechanical inventions while nickels and dimes are being spent on those social inventions necessary to keep us up with the social changes produced by these new inventions. We have learned through these electronic devices to multiply mass messages endlessly--messages which we can get effortlessly in our homes. We don't need to go to the movie theatre, we don't even need to read. We can look and listen.

We're in the same boat as Benjamin Franklin who in the little boy's essay--walked the streets of Philadelphia, bought two loaves of bread, put one under each arm, met a beautiful girl, was married, and then discovered electricity. We have discovered what

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electricity can do in multiplying and sending messages. What we must now do is develop social inventions to use the mechanical inventions most skillfully.

I

I shall try to analyze what educational television is--what we might do with the medium if we understood it, if we thought of it in its long-time possibilities. Let us forego for a little while the pressing, emergency problems of television and see if we can't have a long-view as well as the ever-present close-up.

Television may be considered both as a neutral vehicle for conveying a message--and also as specific educational material. When we think of books we concern ourselves not only with printing as a way of duplicating words and pictures, but also with the subject-matter in the books.

If I were to make only one statement about television as an educational tool, I would emphasize it as a multiple-medium device. It is radio, it is the film-strip, it is the photograph, it is the museum, it is the exhibit; it is a blackboard, a felt-board, a poster, a field trip, a demonstration. Sometimes it is reading as in the trade names or slogans, simple charts, blackboard material. It is all of these things singly and, far more important, it is all of these things put together in an integrated way and served up with a warm friendly personal voice.

How do these characteristics of television--and I have been inaccurately brief--tie in with the characteristics of effective communication? In his Seventh Letter Plato makes the point that "the core of his message cannot be written down, but can be transmitted only from individual teacher to individual pupil, when teacher and pupil know each other intimately, from the experience of living and talking together. Under such conditions the teacher can present his message in precisely the form in which it is appropriate to the mind of his pupil. All other forms and conditions of communication represent so many declensions from this summit. There is a loss in precision, or effectiveness, or

both, as soon as the teacher commits his message to a fixed form of written words, or as soon as the single pupil becomes a class of two or more."*

I think this theory of communication of two thousand years ago has relevance today. Today we have been committed to books as ways of learning and we would all agree that without books intellectual maturity is not possible. But Plato's criticism of a book or a monologue as fixed or inflexible does have relevance. Feed-back from the person spoken to may be absent. In schools certainly there is a tendency for memorization of books, for repetition of the words of the writer.

Another weakness of an exclusively book approach is that emphasis is placed on generalizations instead of generalizing. I am all for the well-stocked mind--one does not have to believe in faculty psychology to accept this idea--but in this inventive and changing world it is singularly important that schools and colleges develop the art of learning and a taste for learning. I do not say that subject-matter will take care of itself--but subject-matter must not be communicated in such a way as to decrease the art and ability to learn nor to cause a distaste for learning. Every medium, and this includes books, can be abused.

We are moving away from the old idea of "No more teachers, no more books, no more teachers' homely looks." Books are better than they ever were before. But I do want to remind you that in Stanley Diamond's citizenship study in Detroit he concluded that very little problem-solving was being taught in any of the schools studied. Books, the recorded experiences of people who have solved certain problems, have relevance because they can help someone else solve these problems. Television can motivate learning by showing people with problems that some of the subject-matter needed to solve these problems is in books but not all of it. I suggest strongly that television can help us understand that not all people who can read books are literate and that not all

* Bambrough, Renford, "The Philosophy of Broadcasting." The BBC Quarterly VII (Winter 1952-53), p. 223.

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persons who cannot read books are stupid. Life is experiencing, it is generalizing, conceptualizing, it is a warm and intimate taking in of the initially unclassified experiences of life. Many of the answers to problems are partially contained in books. But the real problems are those of persons living, breathing, sentient beings.

II

What does all this have to do with television? I see educational television often presenting life in its less organized, less classified form. Subjects, classified subject matter, follow life far more often than they precede it. The Ding-Dong Lady, Frances Horwich, presents us with a suggested approach. She helps children realize that they have fingers, noses, feet, eyes, and brains. They can make things out of pipe cleaners or just stuff around. Experience means to experiment.

Perhaps television with its all-seeing eye can bring to us some of the experiences, the experimenting, that meant so much to children who grew up twenty-five to fifty years ago. They had lots of unclassified, unorganized experiences. Why not show grandpa and others making things--sometimes on their own, sometimes for children. Let children ask simple, naive questions about what is being made. Or maybe we could have adults watching other adults making things--weaving, whittling, cooking, painting, building and so on.

I am making the point here that viewing television need be neither passive nor limiting as far as direct experience is concerned. It can involve the most active kind of listening and viewing. It can move its viewers in the direction of more "direct" experience. It can motivate, the key essential in learning.

Certainly television can help us see problems more clearly, help us formulate them. Maybe one of television's greatest values for education will be in raising issues, helping students see problems where they did not see them before, helping them pin point and nail down their own problems. Isn't it true that the most important part of an education is to discover what our problems really are in contradistinction to the ideas of

what we initially think they are, or of accepting someone else's idea of what our problems really are.

For example, is the problem of the University of Wisconsin that of finding able, creative young men and women to take the place of the older faculty now moving off the scene? If so stated, then one thinks of other colleges and universities that can be robbed. So conceived Harvard robs Ohio State of its young, able economists, Ohio State robs Kentucky and so on. But if one thinks of the problem in another way, we ask how can we create, not merely find, more able young instructors. In our search for talents are we discriminating against women, against Negroes? How about more money for fellowships? And so on.

Is our problem as adults that of winning friends and influencing people? So stated, then flattery, cajolery, salesmanship, being liked become central problems. But if the analysis is wrong, if the problem is how to advance the purposes of inclusive groups to which we belong, then the problem must be stated differently. Can educational television make its viewers more problem-analysis centered, less answer-dominated?

III

All of this preceding discussion may seem like running a mile to jump over the creek. But television is in its formative stages. We can bend it to our purposes of having it be an instrument for presenting answers to problems--like a typical course--or we can use television for the flexible thing that it is--a fluid, many-faceted, many-powered instrument for communication.

Do I mean, then, that we should not have formal courses on television. Of course not. I think we should have them. But I merely ask is this the metier of television, the thing it does best of all? I don't think so. I think television is a great showcase for life in its sentient, relatively unclassified, informal aspects. It is personal, friendly, engaging. It is the cracker-barrel rather than the formal course. It is an informal

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friendly visit, not a formal call. It is low-powered, relatively slowly-paced, not swift and high-powered.

The criterion I would set up would often involve the query: is it fun to watch? Suppose we do a little exercise in this. Here are some things that are fun to watch. It's fun to watch children learning new skills. I just watched a four-year-old climb up and down on an out-door fireplace, take his kitty with him, jump off, climb up again. He did it ten times. He had learned to use his rubber-soled shoes as a leverage device. It was like the ten-month-old boy who did the same thing when he stood up. Both were terribly pleased when they succeeded.

Orangutangs, chimps, most animals are fun to watch. It is fun to watch people make things like cakes, or houses, or big holes in the ground. It is fun to watch how things work--a speedometer, an adding machine, a pull-over stitcher for making shoes, a pretzel-bender--old style and new. Not only is it fun to watch but television can stimulate action.

In 1952 over forty-one million visited our national parks--twice the pre-war record. State parks had over one hundred twenty million visitors. Television can bring the Great Outdoors indoors and stimulate travel thereby.

I have said that television is a many-faceted device--multi-dimensional. It has great powers of motivation. It does unusually well as an informal device which raises problems, helps people think through their own problems. Indeed as we use educational television I would like to see its power to raise and analyze problems and motivate problem-solving made use of.

By this I do not mean to criticize in the least the formal course. But when we have the organized course, let's exploit the possibilities of the medium. Sustained attention even in a classroom is hard to get. One study shows that college students are paying attention to the instructor and what is going on class-wise only about fifty per cent of the time. The television teacher may have a harder time.

Here is where other visual media will help. Late comers to the television class should be able to see the points already made--on the chalkboard, on an easel. The structure of the presentation must be made crystal clear. The tone should be informal. The speaker, lecturer, teacher, must be unusually sensitive to the audience. He must teach agreeably.

Where we are presenting material that has a formal structure, an organic structure, I think we should show this structure to the audience. The late comers then will know what we have been talking about.

Thus in discussing the growth of a new habit or idea even like television we might show four stages:

1. Unconscious Inefficiency
2. Conscious Inefficiency
3. Conscious Efficiency
4. Unconscious Efficiency

Note that the program I've describe has a developmental sequence. It is in four acts and the viewer knows that there is a clear-cut structure that is being followed. He will more likely stick around when this is so.

IV

What are some other characteristics of television? Television is ephemeral. Now you see and hear it and now you don't. It moves on like life itself. This makes for interest, for change, for versatility. But it does lead to obvious disadvantages. A film that you don't quite understand can be repeated once, twice. But you either get the television program right away or you don't get a chance to repeat.

Yet even here we can use the medium wisely. We can learn to demonstrate with skill. We can repeat the key points so that few will make mistakes. We can get the necessary feedback from the trainee, the student and the audience present: their

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questions can give us feedback, the kind of thing Plato criticized books for--lack of reader reaction.

Where are all our programs coming from? Initially we shall get many of them from the Educational Television and Radio Center. With a heavy load of broadcasting much of our material will have to be on film. I hope that the NAEB and similar organizations will see these films as material to be studied, to be evaluated, as patterns worthy of thoughtful imitation. But I would put great emphasis on developing local teachers--persons who could get lots of ideas by looking at kinescopes--and then develop their own live programs.

I have a hunch that a new definition of extension teaching is in the making. We can demonstrate superbly well with television. Why not use our home demonstration people there rather than in the field? It is hard to take along the necessary equipment for demonstration in the field. Why not televise it?

With artful charts and drawings, sound films, panels and the like we can present a topic like world trade in a way now impossible in the typical college class. If we want to extend important concepts in political science, sociology, marketing to the farthest borders of our state, isn't this the way to do it?

TELEVISION AND ADULT EDUCATION

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I feel an unusual responsibility in following in this seminar one of the really great social scientists in America, Harold Lasswell. Moreover, I follow him not so much as a practicing professor but as a more or less pedestrian administrator who has been pulled away from several serious problems in the University to try to focus on some of the larger problems of adult education as they relate to television. I hope that, as an administrator in a university which literally touches almost every group in its state in one way or another during the course of a year, I can bring at least some insights to your problem.

I

Let me begin by making several general observations on the problem of providing continuing education for adults.

First, what is adult education? What does it aim to do? Let me quote the summary statement of the Committee on Social Philosophy of the Adult Education Association, as stated in the May, 1953, issue of Adult Education:

"Adult education is an instrument for facilitating the growth of human personality and the development of a better world. It operates by meeting people's educational wants, supplying their needs for information and skills, developing their appreciations, and enriching their experiences; and in assisting people in the solutions of their common

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problems. These two objectives are inseparable. Activities of adult education take place in a community, the world of first responsibility of people. The responsibility of individuals to their communities or citizenship is an important part of personality development. The community then becomes the point of focus for adult education in order to make its opportunities available to all of the community's people, in order to concern itself with the development of the community, and in order to help increase the expression of citizenship responsibility of individuals and their groups in cooperative action. But in this modern world of expanding environment the responsibilities of citizenship also reach out to regional, national, and world affairs. Because we operate in the cultural framework of democracy its influence should be recognized in adult education goals, operations, and methods. Adult education should always be an experience in democracy. The use of information and logical reasoning is an essential in our modern civilization. Adult education becomes more effective in carrying out its purposes as it helps people to increase their skill in the use of facts and logic. Adult education, however, needs also continually to apply the scientific method in the evaluation of its own activities. Throughout all of its operations adult education faces a moral responsibility because at every point it is involved in change -- individual change and social change. Such endeavors must be solidly based on a full appreciation of values and a sensitivity to their far-reaching implications."

Now, in this context, why do adults seek education? Though there are many reasons, the experts generally agree on four or five, and I should like to summarize these reasons on the basis of Paul Essert's analysis in his recent book on adult education. Here then are five specific needs of adults that lead them to seek educational opportunities.

In the first place, adults are always looking for ways to improve their occupational or professional proficiency. The overwhelming number of adult education activities, class as well as non-class, fall in this broad category.

Secondly, adults are concerned with self-improvement in terms of general cultural interests. Many people are constantly in search of truth and beauty, and I suspect that everyone in this group has at one time or another sought adult education courses for this purpose.

In the third place, adults seek educational programs that will help them fulfill their needs for self-government. Men have always wanted to share in the making of the rules by which they live, and many men seek to improve their facility in helping to make these rules. The encouragement of this desire is especially important in a democracy where the success of the government depends on the consent of the governed, which, in turn, demands that people generally must be able to practice the art of self-government at a high level.

The fourth need that sends adults in search of education is the need for close fellowship. This need involves the desire to join with other people in a stimulating intellectual enterprise and represents an important motivation of adults in search of education. I believe it likely has some very special applications to educational television.

Finally, there is an adult need which may seem off hand, to be contradictory to the need for close fellowship, namely, the need for intermittent solitude. This need is an important one in the present day world, because all people are under a great variety of group pressures almost constantly. We need, therefore, "to get away from it all" occasionally so that we can see our own lives and problems more clearly. Let me give a concrete example from my own experience to indicate how adult education fills this need for solitude. I lead a busy life that keeps me occupied for most of my waking hours. In that workaday life I have relatively little time for extended reading or thinking. Consequently, I frequently do some work on a correspondence study course, or agree to give a lecture in a field I have not touched for a long time, in order that I might be forced into my study at home to work and think through solid subject matter problems again, out of which I invariably get a better perspective on what I am doing. Oddly enough, this type

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of motivation is strong in many kinds of adult education programs, and I am certain that it deserves some real consideration in planning television programming.

In addition to the five broad motivations of adults in seeking adult education, there are certain other characteristics of our society in terms of individual needs that educational television must take into account. Most serious students of our times agree that one of the major characteristics of this era is the growing sense of individual isolation experienced by great masses of our people. A great many people in our society feel a genuine sense of isolation from their fellows. This isolation tends to lead to personal frustrations, and the combination of the feeling of isolation with frustration produces many of the fears that are part and parcel of our society today. If you will excuse a reference to my own state, I am not at all sure but that the roots of McCarthyism lie deep in the basic fears and frustrations that have grown out of a growing sense of isolation for great numbers of people. Someone has said that the loneliness of the ordinary man is almost unbelievable, if you can really get to understand it. I am certain that this situation will present peculiar problems for television programming for adults. Any medium of communication that comes directly into the home, where people can be entirely alone, might well tend to exaggerate this particular feeling of people and thus tend to aggravate the social problems we face as a result of this mass psychological situation.

A second major characteristic of our society on which I should like to comment briefly is its pluralistic nature. The decisions that keep our world operating are made through all sorts of groups in all sorts of places. As you well know, we are pluralistic in our government. We are pluralistic in our economic and social groupings. As a matter of fact, it is probably true that the real strength of our democracy, the real source of support for our freedoms, is the fractionalization of power in our pluralistic society that prevents any single group from getting hold of a major portion of that power.

This is one of the cardinal facts of our democratic politics, and it's one with which adult education has constantly to deal.

Many adult educators, therefore, are concerned directly with seeking to develop programs that fit the particular needs of all sorts of dissimilar groups in our society. Insofar as we as adult educators are successful, we enable many groups to survive and to provide services for their people. And as long as these groups can remain strong and viable, I am convinced that one of the real bulwarks of our democratic society will be sustained. Here again, it seems to me, there are important implications for future television programming for adults.

II

Now, let me turn to a more specific discussion of the educational needs of adults in terms of specific types of program activities. I think it should be said that while educators generally feel that television will change the nature of adult education, they dare not put their whole emphasis on it. Many aspects of adult education must be handled on an individual or small group basis. However, in varying degrees adult educators agree that the very nature of their work will undergo drastic change in the next decade or two as a result of television.

I should like to add that television programming for adults must emphasize content; it must deal with the real problems of real people in a real world.

After these generalizations, let me discuss four or five broad categories of programs, in terms of both practice and theory, viewed from my own specialized experiences in adult education.

First, it seems to me that television offers almost untold opportunities for the expansion of formal education in the United States. In some ways, this is probably its simplest task, a task that educational radio never licked. Despite the almost superhuman efforts of McCarty and others here at Wisconsin, we never completely licked the problem of offering college credit courses by radio.

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I am convinced that this problem will be overcome by television on a broad basis through the offering of well-rounded formal programs of both high school and college education, though I am thinking here primarily of college education. I also believe television will inevitably have a salutary effect on residence college instruction itself.

The need for an expansion of our formal college work is great. There are all sorts of statistics to document this need. Even today when a very considerable proportion of our young people are attending colleges and universities, there is still a large number of our ablest young people unable to begin a college education for economic and other reasons.

Here in Wisconsin, through a system of Extension Centers attached to the University, we're attempting to broaden this educational opportunity to many sections of our state, where adequate college opportunities are not close at hand. However, there are obviously definite limits as to how far we can go in providing this type of education on a face-to-face basis. It is for this reason that I have no question but that a considerable portion of this kind of lower division college training will be provided through television. This will not be too difficult, particularly if the television process can be combined with streamlined home study methods, in which a great deal of experimentation is going on at the present time.

For instance, we at Wisconsin are engaged in experimenting with receiving oral recitations through the mails by using the new recording gadgets that are now available. If you can tie together television, with its limitless possibilities for lectures, demonstrations, and discussions, with the most modern techniques of home study or correspondence study, I believe that the effectiveness of this kind of training will be so great that it cannot be stopped. Make no mistake about it, there are serious problems here of both technique and internal University relationships, but I am confident that these can and will be mastered.

A second broad type of television programming concerns the enjoyment of and participation in the cultural arts. Programs of this type are fairly self-evident in music,

in drama, and in painting. Programs in this category will, on the one hand, be developed for people simply to enjoy. But, on the other hand, they will also go far beyond mere enjoyment in assisting in the development of hobbies and skills that are related to the great leisure and recreation problems that our society faces at the present time. One of the impressive coincidences of our era is that just when the problems of leisure and recreation are among the most difficult we face in our society, television comes along. And television, if properly handled, can provide assistance for literally millions of our people on just these recreational problems. It seems to me that audience needs and desires are almost limitless in this broad area of potential television programming, and I am certain that here, too, television has an unusual opportunity to be of immense service to our people. Incidentally, it may be that this is the marginal area between educational and entertainment television.

The third category of program possibilities is concerned with growth and participation in the civic or citizenship arts. Programs in this field may take place on various levels.

One area here has to do with the provision of training programs for government officials, and particularly for local government officials. Especially in the rural areas, local government officials frequently know little about the technical problems of governing, even though they may know a great deal about the political problems of their locality. These officials eagerly seek training programs, and I believe that television can meet many of their problems with unusual effectiveness.

However, not only local officials need training programs of this type. State officials and civil servants of all sorts are looking for training programs as well. Particularly if programs are developed nationally, there seems little question but that there would be sufficient people throughout the country as a whole to support training activities of this kind.

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In addition to programs dealing with the technical training problems of government officials, there is a broad area of programs in the citizenship arts to be considered for people generally. Programs of this type will range from straight reporting of important public events to highly specialized programs on various aspects of domestic and international affairs. And since the problem of face-to-face instruction in this field is extremely difficult, I am not sure but that television can actually do a much more effective job in this area than all adult education put together has been able to do up to this time. It is in this sense that television has an absolutely unique opportunity, if used imaginatively and intelligently, to make an enormous contribution to what we generally call "the democratic practice." Certainly, if we are going to solve democratically many of the problems we face, we simply must provide our people as a whole with more information, sharper insights, and greater understanding of our problems than we have ever had before. Both public and private television can share in developing programs in this field and thus can make a major contribution to the effectiveness of our society in this area of adult education.

A fourth category of possible television programming has to do with the training of professional and technical people. We live, as you all know, in a time of extremely rapid scientific and technological change. For the first time in the history of man, it is literally true that many types of jobs change completely within the lifetime of a single individual. Moreover, in many of the professions change has come so rapidly that professional people must continue to study and participate in refresher courses constantly if they are to keep on top of their profession. This is true of doctors, dentists, lawyers, teachers, social workers, and many others.

Rapid change in our society is having an increasing impact upon education. Institutions of higher education are, almost without exception, paying more and more attention to this kind of "post-graduate work." Here at Wisconsin, for instance, since the end of World War II, approximately eight years, our programs in this area of Extension

work have increased in the neighborhood of five hundred to six hundred percent, and we know we have hardly scratched the surface. While many professional people can come to Madison or Milwaukee for short refresher courses, many others live in isolated communities where they alone serve a considerable area. The latter find it almost impossible to leave for a week or two of study away from their home base. Consequently, they are coming to us for various kinds of special instructional aids, including home study. Here again, it seems to me, television has an unusually rich opportunity to reach spot audiences with effective programs. I assume, incidentally, that educational television will be concerned to a considerable degree with so-called spot audiences, rather than concentrating entirely on mass audiences. If this is true, the opportunities for educational television in this area are almost limitless.

III

To perform this kind of educational work effectively, you must bring together a wide range of experts. It is at this point that I believe television programming and educational programming, such as that of university extension divisions, should come together. By this I mean that effective programming in this area requires enormously rich resources and a facility for tapping those resources. University extension divisions, in general, have developed the kind of facilities that reach both into the universities themselves and out into the professions in order to utilize the best possible teaching skills to handle particular types of programs. Consequently, I believe that educational television stations will have to become related, in one way or another, to the kind of administrative instrument represented by university extension divisions. These divisions have their roots in the subject matter departments of the university, on the one hand, and in business, industry, and the professions on the other, in order to take advantage of technical competencies wherever they may be found. In the long run, educational television will not be able to do its job effectively in this area unless it works in close cooperation with a facility such as university extension.

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Finally, there is the broad category of potential programming for the so-called informal adult education groups of our society. These groups include members of all sorts of community organizations -- churches, service groups, the Red Cross, the Boy Scouts and Girl Scouts, the YMCA, and the YWCA. We have literally thousands of community organizations that are engaged in one way or another in informal adult education. Their educational programs may involve activities for more than their own members. For instance, the Boy Scouts and Girl Scouts offer widespread training programs for their adult leaders. In this sense, they are not reaching the boys and girls in terms of educational programs, but they are reaching the adult leaders who will have charge of the boys and girls. Educational television will certainly have many opportunities in this area of adult education.

At this point, let me indicate a matter of process. Programs of this type must be developed by and for a particular community or area, with the television station considered as purely a resource for the community rather than the community being considered as a resource for the station. This is a point we should keep perfectly clear -- that the station is simply a resource for all of these functional groups within the community and, as such, the station must incorporate community groups in its program planning.

As a matter of fact, it may be that in order to program effectively with these groups, you will have to provide technical workshops on television for community leaders so that they will have the necessary appreciation of the technical problems of television to enable them to develop practical programs. Let me give a single illustration of this fact.

I am chairman of the Council of National Organizations of the Adult Education Association of the United States. We have more than one hundred national organizations participating in this Council at the present time. Among the things in which we, as a Council, are interested is that of the use of television by the local constituents of our national organizations. In an effort to try to determine our particular role in television, we decided to hold an experimental television workshop for community leaders. This workshop was

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held about a month ago at the University of Southern California by our Council of National Organizations, with the financial help of the Fund for Adult Education and with the cooperation of the Allen Hancock Foundation with facilities and personnel. I was not present at the workshop, so I cannot report about it first hand. However, the reports I have had indicate that this was an enormously exciting experience for the eighteen or twenty key community leaders in the Los Angeles area who participated in it. They spent a solid week on the sheer techniques of television, involving both the mechanical side and the program development side. There was apparently a full interplay of ideas between the technical people conducting the institute and the lay people who knew almost literally nothing about television when they began. By the time the workshop was finished, it was perfectly clear that lay people could absorb an enormous amount of technical information about television in a relatively short period, and that they had a great deal to offer the technical people in television as to programming. The end result was that this group was appointed the Advisory Committee on Local Program Planning for the Allen Hancock Foundation and its educational television station located on the campus of Southern California University.

Now, I have been talking here chiefly about process. I want to underscore that if this medium is going to be as effective as it seems potentially to be for the wide range of organizations in our society, these groups must be incorporated into the very process of the development of television programs.

I have covered briefly several areas that seem important to me in considering the problems of educational television programming from the point of view of the needs of adult audiences. Let me conclude with two summary comments that have at least been implicit in what I have already said.

First, I am certain that if the experience of adult educators generally means anything, then educational television must search constantly for methods of incorporating adult groups in their program planning and development. Only in this way can you

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discover the real needs of real people and secure the maximum grass roots help in meeting those needs. This is an extremely important point of view for effective adult education.

Second, educational television must work with program resources of all kinds wherever they can be found -- universities and colleges, other schools, the professions, business and labor groups, and community organizations. These are your resources for effective adult education programs. No adult education agency, no matter how great it may be, can possibly staff itself adequately if it has a large and varied clientele, which television is certain to have. Such an organization must reach out to tap all kinds of resources. Even a large university like our own, with all kinds of technical resources on its own campus, cannot begin to meet the staff needs of a diversified extension program. If this is true of university extension at the present time, it will be even more true of television as it reaches out to fill many of these needs of adults. I would urge that educational television search for those relationships in the universities and in community groups that will afford them the richest possible resources for programming. Eventually your programs will probably touch all adults with all their interests, and if that is true, your efforts will tend to become literally as broad as life itself.

TELEVISION FOR CHILDREN IN THE CLASSROOM

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The audience in the school is composed of two groups: pupils and teachers. In either case a basic thesis applicable to all forms of communication should be kept in mind. The school audience, too, will accept only what it is disposed to believe. First, then, there needs to be an analysis of the individuals to whom you are addressing yourself, whether it be in person, print, film, or electronic means.

I

The need for knowing your customers isn't new to commercial broadcasters. They've engaged, at great expense, in market research. For example, they know that children like to acquire things, they like to collect. So a commercial for juveniles describes a collection of pictures which they will be given for box tops. They know that children like to be exclusive--as do their elders--so the commercial offers little tokens that indicate they belong to a secret society. These implications aren't new. It's simply a reminder that when we think of fashioning something for someone else, we don't begin with what we like or what suits us. We cut the garment to fit the child.

Think of the television product, not as a program, but rather as a series of desirable experiences for children. The modern educator knows that the old-fashioned curriculum, which was entirely logical in its organization, is passé. It is now essentially psychological in its concept. It is based first on the youngster, and then

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secondly, we develop the experiences. For example, when we ask a group of primary school teachers to revise a curriculum, we do not begin by organizing subject matter and developing it sequentially. That's the old-fashioned way of doing it. We begin with knowledge of the youngster, his psychological profile. We want to know what his predilections are; his native interests. And only then do we fashion the experiences. The same process needs to be followed with older children. What about this older boy? He likes, for instance, to be up-to-date. He knows that when his teacher talks to him about vocational guidance, if the man hasn't been in a shop for twenty years, that the guidance is out-of-date, isn't functional. That's one contribution we can make with television. Our information can be up-to-date.

We know that these youngsters will not learn unless they're emotionally involved. When we involve people in an experience, they share in it, they learn from it more readily. Good script writers have always known that. We say we like to have "sympathetic identification" in our script; so does a good teacher. She likes to have a youngster identified with the experience. Thus we often have child contemporaries in a good school script. We know that is sound psychologically because the child viewer transplants himself into the dramatized situation. Unless he is a part of a process he remains a spectator, not a participant.

It is a truism that we learn more from direct experiences than we do from indirect experiences. We cannot provide direct experience as we could by a journey to the farm, for example. However, we can approximate it with some type of reality, more effective than the spoken word, if we employ television effectively.

We know from a great many surveys that youngsters prefer programs that are humorous and adventurous in just about that order. That knowledge means something to the script writer. He strives to incorporate some elements of humor in his classroom program. What does the need for adventure mean to the script writer? It means that whether he is dealing with Norway or modern art it helps to have a story line. Whether a narrator relates his personal experiences or whether the adventure element is

contrived, a good story supporting the program's primary purpose is essential. Parents know that youngsters at a certain age think they know all the answers. To educators this underlines the need of constant challenge. When a classroom television program demonstrates that even experts can disagree on something that's seemingly evident to the child, he comes to understand there is some value in suspended judgment. That is an implicit by-product of what television can do. Not what it does inevitably, but what it can do.

Of course, we know how natural it is for youngsters to become provincial. That can be a fine thing if it is transferred to intelligent patriotism. But unbridled it can lead to mere jingoism. The modern teacher knows that with the aid of electronic communication she can open windows, so to speak, that her pupils may see the rest of the world. That, too, is based on a native interest and need that youngsters have.

When you are telecasting to junior high students you must recognize that during the adolescent period, the coming of puberty, there is a native interest in the other sex. Thus we incorporate that in our scripts. We have a program on etiquette. That is a natural. Why? Because now the boys and girls are becoming a little concerned about how they sit down in company. How to ask for a dance. There is an optimum time for certain kinds of programs. A knowledge of children helps to determine the best time for dealing with certain material. For example, if you broadcast an etiquette program to the third grader he doesn't care. But if you wait awhile, and let the law of readiness apply, and then present the information when he wants it, the child will learn more readily. We begin, then, with the child in our programming. We do not begin with a gimmick. We do not begin with a script writer's idea. That's too easy. Beware of the fellow who comes around and says, "I've got a swell idea for a show." He may have a swell idea, but not for classroom broadcasting. Titles are a dime a dozen. They may look good on paper, but the pay-off is the impact on kids. One can't emphasize that too much.

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II

The classroom telecaster needs to know the school situation, as well--not only the child, but the situation in which he learns. Fundamentally, we can't teach a child anything. All we can do is create a climate in which youngsters will learn--an emotional climate, an intellectual climate. That television can do. I keep emphasizing "can" because there is an obvious gap between what it does and what it can do.

Television in the school can help youngsters to integrate the knowledge they receive. Years ago we used to assume that if you taught this child 45 minutes of English, 45 minutes of science, and 45 minutes of math, that he would make the integration himself. It didn't always follow. Today we know that we must help the learner to make the integration, to associate meanings. We can do that with television very effectively. We give them via television a series of related experiences so that they begin to sense that there is a relationship between mathematics and music, science and mathematics, art and music. That, a good classroom program should do.

Television can help a youngster to summarize units. It can give him sufficient drill in a painless way. And that needs to be done soon because you will remember from your psychology that the forgetting curve drops very quickly after knowledge is acquired. So you catch it right after the learning with a series of drills pleasantly presented through television.

There's no substitute, of course, for personal activity. We do not just learn by osmosis. But we can stimulate people to want to learn, and that is our opportunity. In the classroom situation we can help children to intensify their appreciation. To be sure with too much analysis we can destroy the entire interest. Yet skillful broadcasters know how to provide emotional reenforcement. Learning is more than an intellectual process. We also learn emotionally. And very frequently, if we're not careful, the emotion can become a substitute for the intellect. Our obligation, then, is to reenforce the intellect with emotion and to relate them both to serve a common purpose. Thus the good script

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writer, recognizing that possibility, will work in that direction. In classroom telecasting we can stimulate pupils to study further. Many teachers try that and fail. Learning becomes a finite thing. The child stops studying when he can pass the examination. Here is a unique opportunity for television. It can stimulate the child to want to go on, to give him a springboard from which he can move forward to new knowledge.

Sometimes in the school situation one can use broadcasting to incorporate new areas of study that arise because of the complexities of life--safety education for example. Everybody says it's important and yet too many leave it up to the other department to do. With television we can develop a series of experiences for children through which they will receive without being lectured at, some idea of safe living in a complex society. We can do it intellectually and emotionally and we can do it without belaboring the point and without preaching. It depends on who is doing it and how well it's being done. In the field of health, I recall particularly, our use of Bob Feller, the baseball pitcher, to talk about health. As the child's idol, he could do more in a few minutes than many teachers could ever achieve. By capitalizing on pupils' native interests, their idols as well, legitimate educational goals can be achieved.

Unlike entertainment, when you're talking about classroom broadcasting and are really serious about it, you don't begin with gimmicks or fancy ideas, you start with a purpose.

In classroom broadcasts we need to be careful that we don't straddle our program concept and try to reach everybody at the same time. I am very skeptical when I pick up a teacher's program guide and see a program planned for elementary grades. The assumption is that that program will be of equal value to all children whether they be five or possibly fourteen. It just does not work out that way. You can't buy a suit to fit every youngster five to fourteen. You cannot even buy one that will fit every youngster, five, because of individual differences. So you have to begin to delimit and that understandably is an expensive proposition in terms of loss of listeners and viewers when

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using a mass medium. But it is something you must do if you are going to be functional in terms of classroom broadcasting.

III

Enough about the youngsters themselves. What about the teachers? They are part of our audience. They're the ones who voluntarily decide to use your program, if you have a democratic operation. If you haven't, they'll ruin your program anyhow. If you force them to take a program, all a teacher has to do is to look bored at the front of the room or mark papers while the broadcast is on and the youngsters will sense that. No script writer is good enough, in my judgment, to overcome that. You must "sell" the teachers too, or maybe first, so that the youngsters will get maximum benefit from television.

A basic decision you have to make, it seems to me, in terms of program structure is: do you want to use television to supplement what the teachers are doing, and that is very desirable, and/or do you want to help them to do better that which they are doing, which is to teach? Consider a seemingly prosaic subject as a program on fractions. You may have seen the fine film on the subject. If you could use that film on television, there are certain values aside from the program that you must keep in mind. The teachers will sense immediately that you are helping them to do the job they're trying to do. You have become an assistant and television is welcomed.

If all your programs are supplementary in nature, it may not be apparent to teachers that you are trying to help them. They may be less interested in using your program in the first place. Unless you can get them to realize that what is coming by television is a help, they will not utilize it.

We went through that process in radio. I do not mean that we licked it, but if I may, seemingly immodestly, I will call your attention to the use of WBOE programs. Estimating from control-room log sheets that we use in our central sound systems in the high schools, forty to sixty percent of all of our high school classes that can take

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the programs, use them. That is high in the secondary division because, as you know, you have bell schedule problems to overcome. In the elementary schools, WBOE programs run between eighty-five to one hundred percent. I believe that is good usage. A quantitative measurement, to be sure, but it is also a qualitative indication, for if this is not qualitative in terms of classroom needs, you probably do not have quantity of use. How do you get wide-spread classroom utilization? I believe you need to have a balanced program structure. It has to be supplementary to the extent that you can show teachers you are opening the doors of their classrooms and expanding horizons of knowledge. Yet you must also have those programs that are so closely related to the teacher's own day-to-day objectives, however prosaic, that they accept this television service as a fine contribution to their job. Unless you do that, classroom use of television will remain limited.

Now what are these values to the teacher? We will refer to our basic thesis. Teachers will not accept what you have to say about television unless they are disposed to believe what you tell them. Here you are selling--call it promoting, merchandising, use fancy words and call it integration, it is all the same thing. You have to create a disposition to believe that the service is valuable and that you will help them specifically in certain ways. For example, teachers often have a problem of meeting special day observances in the classrooms and you can help them that way. Here is a second illustration. Teachers in big cities are pressured too often with all kinds of contests and if you can help launch those and minimize the time lost from classroom work, then you will be regarded not as a competitor for time, but rather as a time saver. That is sound psychologically and valuable educationally.

Teachers will certainly accept the demonstration programs you may have. One of our proposed television programs is a period set aside specifically for demonstration of teaching methods to teachers on school time by outstanding teachers. Surgeons do it with operations, in color. Why shouldn't we, even in black and white? And we will,

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city-wide. These days with the shortage of teachers we are employing a great many sub-standard teachers. Probably some of these people should not be employed. In many communities they will have to be upgraded and this is one way of doing it. Those are some television values that teachers will accept readily.

There will be some obvious advantages with the introduction of television. Unlike radio you have involved top level administrators in thinking about television. That is extremely important because as is natural, the teachers fall in line frequently with what the men at the top believe. If the superintendents join in, as they have through the leadership of J.C.E.T., in declaring that this is an opportunity for education, the teachers sense that. I do not mean that they follow blindly; however, they recognize that unless the leaders are behind them they will use television programs almost in clandestine fashion. If the whole administration is behind them, television programs will be used more widely.

Our teachers today recognize the values of mass media to a greater extent than they did when radio appeared. They have been using visual aids and radio for some time. They have a greater awareness now of the potential. Many of our people are younger, obviously. They have grown up with radio. When classroom broadcasting appeared on the scene, most of our teachers had graduated from college before they heard the first commercial broadcast. It was difficult introducing radio as a teaching aid. These new teachers lived with radio, and you do not have to "sell" them television. You will need to interpret to them how it can help them in their work, but they are aware of the potential and that will help immensely.

They have learned more about the use of these media because the use of film, radio, and television is about the same. Many have had audio-visual courses in college. Some of the states even require them for certification. They know that a good teacher makes the best use of these aids as well and that a poor teacher can spoil the best pupil

experience. More technically, too, we now possess a mass of available research that can help us to analyze programming and measure results more effectively.

IV

There are also disadvantages, however, that must be recognized. What may some teachers not like about television? First of all, we are dealing with a conservative agency. Telling teachers about television, as stated before, isn't enough. At the risk of exaggerating the negative, recognize their concern about cost. Remember that we are now in a period of inflation and their salaries never catch up. Couple that with rising enrollments, with a shortage of housing, with a minimum of supplies, and a lot of them begin to wonder.

Some, very practically, will argue the question of receivers. They say we are considering group viewing. With radio we had portability. We could move the radio around quite easily. What about the portability of this television set? Are we claiming there should be one in every room? Or are we going to move a group of children to one room? Is that a learning situation? What about the central sound systems that we have in our secondary schools? Is there a good central sight system, at a reasonable price? Incidentally, the teachers are about the last ones to get television at home, not necessarily because they do not have enough money, rather they have many other interests. Thus frequently you will talk television to them and some do not know what you are talking about.

Teachers know, too, that the same limitations that handicap radio in the classroom also limit television--the bell schedule, the need for presenting the program at about the time the teacher is discussing the topic, course of study requirements, etc.

One can debate with the recalcitrant teacher that the important thing is not when the experience takes place, but rather is it a good experience? Teachers in big city school systems know there is the pressure of a crowded curriculum, examinations, etc. They do have calendar dates to meet, and we must be aware of the realistic factors

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which confront them. If one states we will repeat television programs, they question, why don't we use more films? And they will ask what is it that a good sound motion picture film cannot do that television can do better?

I believe one reason they have not used films more is, in the first place, because eighty percent of our school faculties are composed of women. They are not mechanically inclined, if one can generalize, and they do not like to thread the projector, they are afraid they will tear the film and have to pay for it, etc. In spite of all the workshops and all the utilization classes we have, one goes into a school and asks how many can thread a projector--one or two hands go up. You might argue that is enough. A skillful principal will make use of that person to do all the work. Yes, a skillful one will. But there has to be more than ordinate interest to get that done. The contribution of television, in this regard it seems to me, is its ease of distribution.

Another argument some teachers use against film is that there are fine films but "we can't get them when we want them." That is another contribution that television can make. We can more readily reach the time of optimum use because we broadcast the film en masse.

Some teachers will say too many films are not functional, they don't meet the purpose they have in mind. Too many films may deal with the Land of Liberty, with clips from the Covered Wagon and that kind of thing. Fine. But that's not enough. The teacher is teaching fractions. Help her with that. At long last that type of film is available. Television would be making a great mistake if it did not think in terms of similar audience needs.

As with films, teachers have to feel that the television programs are based on classroom needs, and so we must involve them in participation. Long before the script is written, they can participate in discussions of what television can do and what it can't do. Where in the course of study would you like to be helped by television? There are some things that can be done better in the classroom. There are some things

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that television can help you do. Help us to find out where those areas are. We'd like to serve you.

The good station staff does not just organize a committee because it is a nice thing to do. Your product will be more functional, and you will create an attitude where there will be a probable increase in the use of your programs. Use teachers to do the things they can do in many services such as evaluation and research.

When the video tape recorder is available, classroom telecasts will be tested first in the classroom before broadcast. Why take up the time of thousands of pupils with a questionable effort? Go into the classroom and gauge their interests that way. Make sure there is a pretty good relationship between an interest factor and a content factor. The teachers will be long on content. The children will be long on interest. See if you can reconcile the two. If you are going to be scientific about this, children will be brought into the evaluation constantly, at their own level.

Integrational procedures need not await independent station operation. By using commercial facilities first you find out who your talent is within the system, and you make your teachers aware of the potential of television. Second, your own studio, and third, your own station. It seems to me in terms of program development, it is public relations, adult education, out of school viewing, and finally in-classroom broadcasting. That is the metamorphosis of school telecasting, never, of course, assuming that the fourth step eliminates the first. But things being what they are, a ready-made audience, a ready-made transmitter, someone else's knowhow--begin with that and lead into the other.

TELEVISION FOR CHILDREN AT HOME

Dale B. Harris
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What is the educational significance of television for children? Here is a mass communications medium with a widespread children's audience; surveys show that young people often watch as many as eight television programs a day. Younger children may spend as many as twenty-eight to thirty hours a week before their sets, a figure which reduces to about fourteen hours for adolescents. But twenty-eight hours a week is almost as much time as children spend in school! There is widespread parental concern over this; in any parents' meeting two subjects are guaranteed to evoke much interest--sex education; and the impact of movies, television and comic books on children.

What are the facts about children and television? Our sources of information are chiefly research data on movies and radio. Wilbur Schramm reports many fewer studies for television than for movies and radio. The results of different studies often appear to be contradictory. Possibly the impact of mass media on children is highly individualistic; perhaps we shall be unable to state general laws concerning the impact of television on children.

Some of the generalizations in this paper are inferences, and perhaps may be in error for that reason; but a good deal of what we must work with is inferential, so we must do the best we can. If we consider the development of a person as a process

occurring in time, then we can make an impact on him that is either temporary or lasting; but we are most interested in behavior influences which permanently affect the future course of his development. Unfortunately, some of what we call education has little permanent effect in this sense. If we are interested in behavior changes that are reasonably permanent, a lot of what we call "education" is not education; and a lot of what we consider incidental or trivial is educational, because it does effect behavior permanently. Many things happen out of school which are truly educational in this sense; we must accept that! There is evidence that so-called entertainment media have a deep and lasting influence on children's learning of facts, skills, and attitudes! *

I

What are some of the principles of child development which should concern educational telecasters? First, this medium--which combines vision and audition, and which portrays happenings directly and dramatically rather than indirectly or symbolically--has a tremendous impact on children in plastic stages of development, an impact which certainly has permanent effect on behavior. The younger the child the more important is sensory experience to him--odors, visual patterns, sounds. Why is this? The very young child has not developed an elaborate symbol system, a set of words, ideas or concepts which are abstract. He deals in terms of immediate experience, and the content of his immediate experience is made up of sensory impressions. These sense impressions have a stronger emotional significance than they have later on as he acquires ability for building abstract ideas and concepts. The young child also lacks a background of general experience in terms of which to interpret his immediate sensory experience. The symbolic system which growing abilities and increasing background of experience make possible for the child, overlays the substratum of emotional meaning

* Holaday, P. W. and Stoddard, G. D., Getting Ideas from the Movies. New York: MacMillan, 1933.

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of direct sensory experience. However, we never lose the substratum. Thus, the audio-visual medium continues to have educational significance for adults. But for young children it is inherently an exciting, dramatic, appealing, and influential medium.

A second principle is that the real and personal--those experiences that duplicate in part the youngster's own experience--have a particular fascination for him. While this is true particularly of younger children, it is also true for adolescents and adults. In many surveys of interests of children, we find that the so-called educational features which introduce much new material rank low on the interest scale, whereas those which introduce only a little new material in the context of familiar items rank higher on the interest scale. The adolescent may have more interest in sheer drama and emotional excitement than does the young child, but the adolescent, too, is most interested in programs which deal with people, places, and problems which he has met or experienced. Thus, to obtain an interested child audience, you must find certain anchor points for their interest. Here are some such anchor points of interest.

Age. Some characters should be of the same age as the group for which the program is broadcast to obtain maximum interest.

Sex. Despite their fascination with the opposite sex, even adolescents are strongly interested in actors of their own sex.

Experiences known and understood by children. This point is often over-looked in programming. You may well ask: "Why should a child be interested in ordinary, everyday things? Let's give him something new!" Actually, he will not be as much interested in the entirely new as in something containing familiar elements. In order to have learning take place at all, one must have attention and interest. If the youngster is not interested, he is not learning, no matter how many new and desirable experiences he is being introduced to. He must participate psychologically in the experience provided him. Hence, include some familiar activities. The more intellectually mature child is more able to find parallel elements in his own experience, but he never quite escapes the

need for the familiar to bridge the gap to the new. So, educationally, let's introduce new elements and new ideas into a context that is familiar.

Familiar activity presented in an unfamiliar setting. A variation of this anchor point is the portrayal of familiar values in people who are new to the child--people unfamiliar in dress or appearance but who are kind and helpful, or engaged in activities the child knows well. An application of this point which must be handled carefully in this day of great concern about human relations, is to tap the child's own identifications with cultural or ethnic groups. If wisely and carefully done, a script writer might refer to a particular group's origins, or he might appeal to interest in a group's own nationality and ethnic cultural backgrounds.

There is a television program up our way--Jimmy Valentine's children's program on KSTP-TV--which interests me very much. By some educational standards you might say this is pretty poor, but the children love it. Why? Jimmy has children on his program, he talks with them, asks them riddles, and lets himself get stumped. Jimmy Valentine has six young children of his own. He knows children and how to handle them, with the result that when he puts on a television program, he becomes involved in such a way as to hold a child audience in living rooms all over the city.

Many television offerings, like the movies and radio, have to do with emotion or emotion-evoking situations, such as conflicts which must be solved. The appeal of such programs for adults is well known. Adolescents, too, are intensely interested in people who get into trouble, get all mixed up, and have difficulties solving their problems. More than younger children, adolescents have experienced complex social and emotional problems. People help them less than they do young children; they expect them to be "grown up." Adolescents are also becoming aware of new interests in the opposite sex, in courtship activities and in such preliminaries to them as dating, what to talk about, and the propriety of kissing. The adolescent wants to be successful in his quest for a new role. He won't ask adults a lot about the characteristics of adolescence. He needs

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to be independent. In a society that doesn't define his role very clearly, the adolescent must do quite a bit of uncertain questing for roles and manners which will enable him to cross into adult life.

According to the Payne Fund studies* the adolescent goes to entertainment media--the movies and television, and particularly to dramatic shows involving relationships between the sexes--to get a model of how he should act in his overtures to the opposite sex in the activities that will lead him into courtship and eventually marriage. So the entertainment medium becomes really a school for social experience.

II

Our third principle is this: if you try to capture interest with problem solving situations or highly charged emotional situations, the younger the child, the simpler must the problem be. The adolescent can handle complex problems involving social relations which a younger child could not. For a child of nine or ten, you could portray chum relationships, a quarrel, or a problem of conduct involving a teacher or parent--but keep the problem fairly simple. But an older child will want more complicated problems involving a greater variety of issues.

When we pose problems for children, we should take care that they are realistic for the intended age group, and that we offer some sort of solution. The younger child is not as capable as the older child of handling problems which are unresolved by the program. For example, morality for the younger child is much more a matter of black and white than it is for the older child. With the older child, one can pose a question and let him answer it. The younger child has some capacity for problem solving, but needs more help by suggested solutions. He will be emotionally involved in any problem presented; but he does not have the capacity and experience for bringing it to solution. He is more likely to worry about it, to be concerned and involved with it.

* Blumer, H., Movies and Conduct. New York: MacMillan, 1933.

The fourth principle, that reiterated experiences impress the child mind more deeply than isolated experiences, recalls the old law of frequency in the psychology of learning. We have come through a period of twenty or thirty years of child study during which we have emphasized the importance of the single dramatic or traumatic happening or event which changed a child's life. Modern child development studies are making us more aware of the repetitive character of many of the experiences of childhood. Without in the least denying the impact of highly emotional, single experiences, we are once more coming to recognize the cumulative effect of reinforcement learning.

Professor Roger Barker at the University of Kansas has been charting typical days, episode by episode, for a sample of small town children. He is finding that learning situations occur literally by the hundreds in each waking day for each child. He also reports that specific episodes occurring hundreds of times in the life of one child may hardly ever enter into the experience of another. Small wonder then that attitudes take form early and differ so much among children.

I suspect that if we made content analyses of television programs as has been done for movies, we would find simple themes handled over and over again. The youngster gets a cumulation of impressions--a build-up far beyond anything we ever give him in school. Many of the ideas, dramatic themes and types of emotional stimulation used in television presentations appear over and over again. The impact of this repetitive experience needs considerably more study than it has received. While the significance may vary from child to child, the over-all effect must be pretty important in shaping and perhaps "standardizing" children's ideas, attitudes and values, particularly since so many children are exposed through television to the same material.

Since it is clear that entertainment devices have a marked educational impact, we must be careful to make our materials factually accurate. We also have to make them accurate in emphasis. Do we portray something which is in truth unusual and unlikely, as something usual and typical? This is the old problem of propaganda emphasis. For

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example, the Russians pick up lynching as an aspect of race relations in America, and present as a common everyday occurrence something that rarely occurs. This is a distortion of emphasis. We have to be careful in programming for children lest we distort too.

In addition to supplying sensory experience in a dramatic and emotional way, the audio-visual medium also makes an important contribution to the child's interpretation of his world. Television, movies and radio supply the child with content for imagination. "Imagination" is the term we apply to the psychological process by which a child puts together elements of his experience in new ways, recombines things, and works out ideas. In a sense imagination, like thinking, is a tool in problem solving, though it is not as systematic or controlled a process as thinking. A child's play is by this token part of his imaginary life. Through play, the child experiments with materials, ideas, social roles and adds to his learning. We are well aware from extensive studies how children's play incorporates elements from the movies and radio, and current experience indicates that this is just as true of television.

The role of imagination in the social behavior of adolescents has already been suggested. The adolescent, identified with the hero or heroine, lives vicariously the experiences of that person and thus explores possible modes of conduct for himself. Adolescents will frequently admit that in their social relationships, and in their "amours," they actually try out techniques they have observed. If the techniques don't work, they are dropped. If they do work, they are retained.

The fantasy life of a child has another important function. It helps him come to terms with the impossible in his environment. A child wants to do something very badly but is forbidden to do it. In his imagination he can punish the limiting adult and enjoy the activities he would like to get into. This offers him a kind of emotional release or escape from the impossible aspects of this situation. Fantasy as a form of imagination has an important psychological escape function, then; but it can get out of hand. Ordinarily we

say daydreaming is bad when it keeps a person from coming to grips with his problems. But there are some intolerable situations which a child must daydream about if he is to preserve his psychological integrity.

III

Another principle is that the content and development of a child's behavior is, in part, dependent on the level of his maturity and development. A child's needs change with age. Take, for example, the eight to twelve year group which is characterized by the need for excitement, suspense, thrills and danger. Children do not actually require personal danger, but they seem to seek the emotional thrill provided by reading about or seeing dangerous and exciting episodes portrayed. That is why the Western movie makes such a strong appeal to this age group. However, we find that around puberty a new interest builds up--the erotic interest with psychological involvement in love-making scenes. Ask fourth graders what are the funniest things adults do and you will find that high on the list is kissing. But for sixteen year olds kissing has quite a different psychological meaning.

The Dysinger and Ruckmick studies* dealt with the physiological aspects of children's emotional responsiveness to movies. Physiological reactivity to suspense and dramatic episodes builds up to a peak about eleven or twelve--and then begins to fall off. Reaction to kissing scenes begins to build up around eleven or twelve, and reaches a peak at around sixteen or seventeen. There is a basic psychological involvement behind the child's changes of interest. This change occurs in part simply because the child grows up--he is becoming a different organism through developmental processes. While this isn't true of all specific interests, it is true of the broad areas of interest discussed here. When parents get upset by the child's insatiable appetite for television Westerns

* Dysinger, W. S. and Ruckmick, C. A., The Emotional Responses of Children to the Motion Picture Situation. New York: MacMillan, 1933.

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one can say that he will "grow out of it," and be correct nine times out of ten. Other interests will develop as he becomes a more mature organism.

There is another reason why this principle of age-relatedness of interests and experience should be of concern to educational television specialists. It is very difficult for adults to project themselves into children's interests, and--sitting in an armchair--to devise the kinds of programs that will really appeal to them. You and I can say, "This ought to be interesting to children." The chances are we will miss rather badly, unless we are very unusual adults or have done much observing of children. We lose touch with the developmental character of our own earlier psychology. Research evidence shows that there is little correlation between what children say they like and what adults think they will like. While adult preference isn't a sure indication of child preference, adult conceptions of what a child ought to like are apt to be further off than selections made in terms of the adult's own interests.

Furthermore, what children want to see is more likely to affect what adults will view than vice versa. The influence goes up rather than down the age scale, according to one study of movie choices.*

Educators know, for example, that they can influence parents by teaching children. Teach a girl the elements of furniture arrangement in high school and you may get a reaction of distress from her mother! The girl goes home and tells her mother how things ought to be done.

If this influence of children upon adults is quite pervasive, we simply must study children more than we have. If we cannot capture out of our own recollection of childhood adequate cues to what will interest children, then we must observe children directly. Adults can readily become sensitive observers of children. As they do so, they can

* Fearing, F., "Influence of the Movies on Attitudes and Behavior." Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science 1947, Vol. 254, pp. 70-79.

recapture more adequately the values of childhood than by sitting at a desk in a programming office and laying out what ought to be interesting to children. I plead as strongly as I can that you and your staff go out and do some straight observing of children, at school, at play, anywhere. Get acquainted with children first hand!

IV

What about the supposed harmful effects of television? I'm sure that educational telecasters are not going to develop programs that will have deleterious effects, but they will possibly meet parents who are concerned over this problem. We are a society in rapid change. Values are shifting. I suspect that the mass media of communication are more likely to reflect a great variety of social and ethical values than we realize. While this is upsetting to adults, it is not necessarily bad for youngsters. Not long ago I happened to hear a conversation between two eleven year old girls. They were discussing in a very mature way a romantic problem presented on television, with much understanding of the implications of what they had seen. I am quite sure that would not have been true twenty or thirty years ago of children with a similar social background, because television did not then exist, and they would not have been permitted to go to the movies where they might have seen such a problem. Furthermore, newspapers would not then have carried references to sex behavior as they do now.

A medium which portrays a variety of values also brings to children an awareness of conflicts in values. I would not argue for censorship of the medium because it might present conflicting values to child audiences. Children do not inevitably acquire the poorest values and tastes from what they experience. Teachers and parents may need to handle more wisely than in an earlier day the conflicts children face in a world in rapid change. They can do so more readily through recognizing these conflicts than in trying to isolate children from them. It is a truism of child development that children learn to make good choices by making choices. It also appears to be true that what children take out of experience bears some relationship to the standards they bring to that experience.

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As there are many standards and experimental backgrounds, so there is no uniform impact of new experience on people.

Children learn to make good choices by a cumulative process, each child gaining from a new experience in relation to and in a sense congruent with what he has already learned. If children have the basis for good taste and have developed good principles for selection, they tend to absorb from new experience the desirable aspects of that experience. If they come with inadequate basis for judgment, they of course cannot make desirable choices. One may change that, however, by giving children a variety of experiences in order to build a basis on which the elements of good taste may be founded, taking care to reinforce desirable choices early in the process. There is some evidence that in early adolescence the ability to discriminate more aesthetic from less aesthetic materials does deteriorate. But there is also evidence to show that it tends to return in later adolescence. Thus, there is very real reason not to become unduly alarmed at the apparent lack of taste in children ten or twelve to sixteen or so years of age.

What is the relationship of television "addiction" to personality adjustment, or good mental health? Some people are quite disturbed because many delinquent children are frequent movie-goers, or comic book or television addicts. The presumption is that addiction to the medium results in too much emotional stimulation, and hence contributes to their behavior difficulties. It may well be just the opposite! Children who are making an inadequate emotional adjustment may completely immerse themselves in these media as a form of escape. Suppose we took away all comic books from a child who is a comic book addict. He probably would immerse himself in something else. It isn't the question of the bad literature making him bad; it is rather that, his own development being inadequate, his involvement with a series of tough emotional problems leads him to over-immersion in an exciting, distracting medium.

I have been personally most concerned over another feature of television, relating to the possible modification of the child's interest patterns. What effect does twenty-

eight hours of television viewing a week have on a child's other activities? After all, that amounts to four hours a day when he could be doing something else. Results of two different studies* show that the average time per week spent with television by children with access to sets, drops from about twenty-four hours at age nine to fourteen hours at age eighteen. Boys view consistently more than girls, although the difference is not great at any age. The Lehman and Witty studies of play interests of children ** show a similar age relationship. The number of different activities engaged in per week drops steadily from nine to eighteen years. As children grow older, they tend to become more selective and to concentrate on things of more value to them. Presumably the period of childhood exploration of many activities enables the adolescent to be more adequately selective concerning the activities on which he concentrates.

But childhood, we find, is the period of greatest concentration of television. This concentration may work to exclude the exploration of other interests and activities. Certainly one reason for this is the newness of the medium; it is clear that the second and third year a family has a set, both adults and children spend less time with it than during the first year. I believe that as television becomes a part of the child's experience he will put it in its place along with other things. Probably the impact on his interests is not as serious as it is sometimes thought to be. Certainly the child who can be encouraged to develop a balanced program of activities and interests will not be unduly limited by television.

* Lewis, P., "TV's Impact on Teen-agers." Phi Delta Kappan, Nov., 1951, pp. 118-121; Institute of Child Welfare, University of Minnesota, unpublished survey.

** Lehman, H. C. and Witty, P. A., The Psychology of Play Activities. New York: A. S. Barnes, 1927.

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Popular times for television viewing for children are related to this problem of a balanced program of interests and activities. The after-school hours are not television hours for most children. These are hours when other interests are exercised. Eighty-five percent of children of all ages whose families have sets view programs between eight and nine at night; seventy percent view from nine to ten; and thirty-five to forty percent are still watching between ten and eleven at night. Claims that these late hours cause children to be sleepy and ineffective in school should be investigated before being accepted. Thus far, there is no clear evidence that television viewing has the evil effects predicted when the medium first appeared on the social scene.

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The first of these is the fact that the
evidence is not sufficient to establish
the existence of a single, uniform
type of culture. The second is the
fact that the evidence is not sufficient
to establish the existence of a single,
uniform type of culture. The third is
the fact that the evidence is not
sufficient to establish the existence of
a single, uniform type of culture.

THE JOURNAL OF THE
ROYAL ANTHROPOLOGICAL INSTITUTE

COMMITTEE REPORTS

During the last three days of the meeting five committees of seminar members drew up reports and recommendations on the main subjects considered in the formal sessions. After being reviewed by the entire group, these were further revised by their originating committees and circulated to all seminar members.

The editor subsequently rewrote portions of some of the reports to eliminate redundancies and differences in style, and submitted them to the committee chairmen for approval. The basic ideas, however, remain those of the entire seminar as developed by the committees.

Committee membership was as follows:

I. The Social Role and Significance of the Educational Television Station

George R. Probst, Chairman
Garnet R. Garrison
Armand L. Hunter

H. B. McCarty
Harold Wigren

II. Television and Other Mass Communications Media

John Winnie, Chairman
Frank Gulick
R. S. Hadsell

Grant Leenhouts
James S. Miles
Paul Reed

III. Educational Television Service to the Adult Population

Lawrence Conrad, Chairman
John W. Dunn

Mrs. Fletcher Hodges
Willis H. Reals

IV. Educational Television and Children

Denton L. Cook, Chairman
Haskell Boyter

William H. King
Mrs. Kathleen N. Lardie

V. Resources for Educational Television

John Paul Jones, Chairman
Edwin H. Adams
Seymour N. Siegel

Harry J. Skornia
Edward Wegener

I. THE SOCIAL ROLE AND SIGNIFICANCE OF THE EDUCATIONAL TELEVISION STATION

COMMITTEE REPORTS

"Promote, then, as an object of primary importance, institutions for the general diffusion of knowledge. In proportion as the structure of a government gives force to public opinion, it is essential that public opinion should be enlightened." -- George Washington.

Communication remains man's supreme achievement. His progress depends upon his ability to transfer to others what he has seen, thought and believed -- and all this depends upon his effective use of the means and instruments of communication.

With its combination of sight and sound, television is the most powerful communications instrument in existence for strengthening a common image of the values of American free society. Therefore the educational television station has an important responsibility in the task of assuring maximum progress for all men and of helping develop the well-informed and responsible citizenry so necessary for the security of our free society. Established primarily to disseminate information, increase the range of cultural choices, and promote free and critical inquiry into problems of general public concern, the educational television station should make its facilities available, so far as practicable, to any agency or individual having a contribution to make to the public interest and welfare.

Freedom of choice in the communications process is essential to a free society. In order to make considered judgments on matters of public policy, citizens must have access to a stream of intelligence on local, national and international affairs, as well as objective interpretation of their meaning and significance. The educational station is in the advantageous position of being able to draw heavily upon school, college, university and community resources in developing programs to serve these objectives. It should become, then, for reasons of both integrity and competence, a preferred source of information for those entrusted with making important decisions for the community.

The educational television station should be a community station rather than the outlet for a single institution or group of schools and public service organizations. But

SOCIAL ROLE

this concept does not preclude its addressing special interest groups which at times may be very small in number; often the general welfare can best be served by broadcasting to a small group on the community's behalf. A television program intended to appeal to the universal audience must be based upon interests common to everyone -- and such interests are rare indeed. But the universal audience includes a diversity of smaller publics distinguished by interests and needs which are less than universal. Many elements tend to limit the universal audience: there are such personal factors as age, sex, educational background, occupation, economic status and place of residence; and there are such program factors as subject, format, and level of difficulty. One of the great assignments of the educational broadcaster is to render service to these special publics which, for the most part, are not otherwise served.

For education the development of this new medium of communication is of crucial significance. The educational television station can present high quality learning experiences to viewers of all age levels. It can enrich, enliven and extend existing educational services. It can serve children in and out of school. It also can provide continuing learning opportunities for adults at home. Television is to the public lecture or appearance what the printed book was to the manuscript. The number of persons who can see and hear an individual speaker or demonstration has achieved a new order of magnitude. Furthermore, the singular flexibility of the camera and its capacity for detailed and direct observation give television a qualitative as well as quantitative advantage over all other media.

The spirit of the educational television station in operation should be one of enthusiasm and confidence about our world. It should be prepared to help people understand where they have been, where they are now, how they got where they are, and where they are going. It should point out to viewers what might have been, as well as what is. It must be inventive, expressive and creative rather than routine in programming, ready

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to experiment with the techniques of the medium, and willing to be guided by research findings bearing on its activities.

To all people the educational television station can offer the enrichment of life through their exercise of the Freedom to Look.

II. TELEVISION AND OTHER MASS COMMUNICATIONS MEDIA

What will be the relationship of television to press, radio and motion pictures? The members of the seminar believe that because each of these possesses certain unique and distinctive characteristics, television will supplement rather than supplant the other mass media.

PRESS communicates primarily through recorded verbal symbols, which must be seen and interpreted to be understood. It often communicates at the highest level of abstraction, and requires the mastery of specialized skills for comprehension.

RADIO communicates through the instantaneous transmission of sound, principally words and music. It can be heard at the moment of transmission by an unlimited number of individuals in remote and scattered locations.

MOTION PICTURES communicate through recorded moving visual images, accompanied by sound. Their practical use depends upon the assembling of groups of people for viewing.

TELEVISION communicates through the instantaneous transmission of visual images and sound. It embodies the important characteristics of both motion pictures and radio, and is unique in that it is capable of transmitting instantaneously the visualization of events as they occur.

Each of these media will continue to be used, since each has proved an effective means of communication. But television -- drawing from and combining the strengths of the others -- will likely prove our most effective communications medium.

Television draws upon motion pictures for films now available in film libraries. These are used either in their present form as complete television programs, or as

TELEVISION AND OTHER MEDIA

integral parts of new programs. Television not only utilizes this existing footage but requires the creation of new film material to meet specific needs. Films of remote locations enlarge the scope of studio presentations. Time-lapse photography, stop-motion, photomicrography and other unique recordings are available to television only on film.

The basic techniques of the film medium, developed during the past half-century in the attempt to record successive moving images, are used in television: camera shots, shot continuity, story lines, editing and laboratory procedures. These and many more form the basis for techniques already modified and adapted to the new physical facilities and equipment of television.

Television is responsible for a new form of film -- the kinescope. This important development enables the medium to retain material in permanent form for record, research and distribution, not only to television stations, but to film libraries throughout the world. Films and kinescopes make it possible to develop a central library resource for the interchange of television materials.

Television therefore relies heavily upon the medium of motion pictures in achieving its unique potentialities. Both television and motion pictures will continue to serve important and separate communication functions, and each will draw from the other in its continuing development.

Television has a different relationship to radio than to motion pictures. Radio programs as such cannot be transmitted as television programs, because in television the broadcast of sound is completely integrated with visual images. But in the development of television programming and transmission there has been and will continue to be dependence upon the personnel, experience and traditions of radio broadcasting. Some educational television programs will derive from successful educational radio program formats. But with the addition of sight, opportunity is provided for the presentation of educational content unsuitable as radio material.

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This does not mean that radio is obsolete as a means for educational communication. Radio did not replace the printed word; and it is unlikely that television will displace either press or radio. Rather television is a powerful new tool. Its use may modify the educational applications of radio and also may affect the size and nature of the radio audience; but for practical reasons there will continue to be listeners for educational radio programs. Some people like radio better than television. Others prefer certain kinds of programs on radio. Some people live beyond the range of television stations, or else do not have ready access to television receivers. Most people with access to all forms of communication will not use any one of them exclusively. In practice each medium will reinforce the others: newspapers, books and magazines will be read; radios will be heard; and there still will be time for television viewing.

Fortunately all these media are available to the educator, and all should be used if the maximum audience is to be reached effectively. The recent experience of the NAEB with The Jeffersonian Heritage illustrates how multiple media may be used in communicating the same material. This series first was broadcast by tape recordings over a hundred or more radio stations. It now is available on phonograph records for use in homes and schools or over radio. Recently the scripts were published in book form. One of the original radio broadcasts has been experimentally recreated as a television program. This telecast was kinescope recorded so that it could be rebroadcast by other television stations or shown to groups of people as a motion picture. Surely the projection of The Jeffersonian Heritage through all these media was far more effective than would have been presentation through only one of them.

III. EDUCATIONAL TELEVISION SERVICE TO THE ADULT POPULATION

A considerable portion of the broadcast time of educational television stations will be devoted to programs for the adult public. There are some seventy-five million or more adults whose educational needs and interests -- if they could be determined -- might be met through well-conceived telecasts. From an observation of the social and

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intellectual habits of adult human beings and from the experience of school people in the past, we believe there is a place for educational communication on the adult level in each of the following areas: health improvement; economic welfare; cultural growth; citizenship and world understanding; social adjustment; moral and spiritual development; and general educational advancement.

Programs for adults might fall into one of these two categories:

1. Organized Courses of Study. Recommended here are orderly sequences of programs, perhaps with accompanying study guides. In some cases these courses might be certificated or accredited by training agencies, schools or colleges. In addition to broadcasts on regular school subjects, telecast units could be prepared to increase occupational proficiency, develop useful skills, and provide citizenship training. Certainly mathematics, languages, and ceramics could readily be taught in this way. Present experience with the types and kinds of courses effective on television is extensive enough to suggest an almost unlimited field.

2. General Informational and Cultural Programs. Programs that do not constitute courses of study or training but are nevertheless informational would be useful for the adult audience. There could be news analyses, travelogues and descriptions of industrial processes, as well as "how to make it" and other hobby shows. Their purpose could still be educational in the broad sense; and to prevent a haphazard and valueless miscellany, programs with related subject matter or similar aims could be connected in series. Here too the variety of topics is enormous, since anything that stimulated intellectual curiosity or made life more meaningful would constitute suitable television material.

Programs in the arts, too, are well adapted to television, since each provides entertainment along with cultural benefits difficult to define although generally recognized. Television has proved to be highly successful in bringing all the arts directly into the homes of viewers.

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Programs for children constitute one of the biggest and most promising areas of service for educational television stations.

A. Broadcasts for In-School Use. The following generalizations are commonly accepted concerning the use of television in schools:

1. Television is a new power tool for education: timeliness, immediacy and realism are the features which make it a highly important medium for broadcasting to schools.

2. School telecasting must be based on the psychological principles which govern all learning.

3. School telecasting must strive to disseminate information, develop skills, inculcate desirable attitudes and increase understanding.

4. Television should provide pupils with additional learning experiences and help the teacher do a better job. It need not compete with existing teaching materials or techniques; television has its own unique advantages.

5. In-school telecasts should be keyed to the curriculum and be directed to specific age and achievement levels.

6. The results obtained from school telecasting should be constantly appraised through the use of the best research techniques.

The complexity of school schedules, particularly at the secondary level, presents a problem for in-school telecasting just as it did for radio. In places where in-school telecasts have been used, this has been met largely through coordinated planning by both broadcasters and school people. Repeat telecasts, both live and recorded, are one solution.

Teachers should participate in the planning of all school telecasts, although program production should remain the responsibility of the television staff. While technical finish is a desirable factor in any broadcast, it is not so important as well chosen content or sound educational presentation.

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Good in-school telecasts may accomplish many purposes. They may provide a new means for teacher up-grading through furnishing examples of excellent teachers at work. Superior teaching also should prove inspirational to pupils. The distinguished visitor or expert may appear simultaneously in hundreds of schools, and scientific experiments or demonstrations from a well equipped laboratory may be presented to pupils in schools lacking such facilities. In addition, kinescopes of outstanding educational telecasts and films from many parts of the world may be viewed in the local classroom with no more effort than the tuning of a television set.

B. Telecasts for Out-of-School Hours. Educational telecasters should also provide children's programs for out-of-school viewing. There of course will be intense competition for viewer attention after school hours, since that is the time for play, for private lessons, and for clubs and other activities. Furthermore, commercial stations schedule children's programs with high audience appeal during these periods. The educational station's after-school broadcasts, therefore; must be interesting and appealing, or they will have few viewers. Educational television must meet this challenge by offering imaginative educational programs with a high level of audience appeal.

Telecasts for out-of-school viewing probably will be less formal than those designed for in-school use and may appeal to a wider variety of interests. We should examine children's needs in order to plan programs which will intensify old interests and develop new ones. Some of these programs, for example, might deal with "how to do" and "what to do" techniques, involve creative participation in art and music, promote wholesome personal relationships, and highlight "good" stories.

C. Telecasts for Young People Outside the Formal Influence of the School. While educators are primarily concerned with young citizens in school, other young Americans also look to them for help. The pre-school child and his parents should be prepared for future school experiences. In America, where only one out of two pupils completes the secondary school, the problem of the "drop-out" must be considered. Help also should

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be given the new graduate who frequently finds the transition into adult life an abrupt one, and to the young person who cannot attend school. The resources of the educational television station should be made available to all these groups at times convenient to them. With pre-school and home-bound children, parents also are closely involved.

1. The Pre-School Child. The very young child should be aided in acquiring worthwhile behavior attitudes, and his parents instructed in child development and in establishing good child-parent-teacher relationships. Wholesome entertainment for the pre-school child is in itself a worthwhile purpose.

2. The Post-School Child. Television promises to be the most important link between the school and the recent graduate or "drop-out." Vocational and avocational guidance services are needed. Programs indicating the responsibilities as well as the rights of young citizens are particularly important.

3. The Home-Bound Child. There also is the challenge to aid young people who for various reasons cannot attend school and must remain at home. They need a bond with their own age group. They should be made to feel that others are interested in their problems. Regardless of their geographical locations or home conditions, these home-bound pupils can receive better instruction in a wider range of subjects from television than from any other medium.

V. RESOURCES FOR EDUCATIONAL TELEVISION

In planning its program services a station should first examine the nature and determine the needs and interests of its audience. Then, using its own professional staff and such other qualified contributors as may be available, it must develop programs utilizing all the resources at hand, at the same time building its audience in every way possible.

A. Audience Resources. Many people are eagerly awaiting educational television, confident that their needs will be fully satisfied only when present commercial offerings are supplemented by programs from educational stations. These people -- the unsatisfied customers and those who will turn to educational stations for additional enjoyment and education -- constitute one of educational television's greatest resources and biggest challenges.

This potential audience includes such groups as the aged, whose numbers are steadily increasing and whose special needs suggest many program possibilities. It includes children, both in and out of school, whose educational needs have multiplied much faster than they have been met. It also includes an eager-to-learn and receptive adult audience which desires participation in the process of educational communication.

The educational telecaster must study this audience before he can serve it effectively. Only through systematic research can he determine what to broadcast, and then subsequently measure his achievement. His program of continuous research should seek to learn everything there is to know about an audience: what it likes and dislikes; the nature of its hopes, dreams and fears; and its program standards and values. In developing research activities, educational television must go outside itself to tap the resources of psychology, sociology and the other social sciences.

But if this audience is to be more than just a potential, the educational station must attract it through a process of systematic audience development. Viewers will not become loyal to educational television as the result of good programming alone. They must constantly be told when educational programs are available and how those programs will serve their needs. This may be done in such ways as promotion through other media,

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setting up workshops to educate people in the techniques and advantages of educational television, and organizing special viewing groups.

B. Program Resources. The program resources of a community television station might be categorized as follows:

1. Educational: school systems, colleges, universities.
2. Governmental: national, state and local government agencies, especially those associated with educational projects.
3. Other Educational and Cultural Organizations: museums, art institutes, symphony orchestras.
4. Welfare and Community Agencies: YMCA's, family service agencies, Red Cross.
5. Business, Industry and Labor.
6. Professional Groups.
7. Network and Exchange: local, national and international.

The effective development of these resources requires a realistic and workable relationship between the station and cooperating agencies. An educational television station is not properly a showcase where institutions go on display to advertise themselves; contributors should participate only as they serve the educational needs of the audience. The station must retain ultimate control over all program planning and production, although it should encourage the full participation of all interested and qualified groups and individuals. But since it is the station, in the last analysis, which will be held accountable for the quality of its programs, not only by the FCC but even more importantly by the people who view them, it therefore has the right and responsibility of exercising editorial judgment over all program content.

The problem of liaison between the station and its contributors therefore becomes very important. Any group working with a television station in the production of a series of programs should appoint one of its members as spokesman on matters of policy

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and procedure. The station on its part should deal with organizations of related interests and resources in groups rather than individually. For example, when preparing programs for women, a station should not work separately with each women's organization, but should bring them all together so that the resources of each may be drawn upon as needed and integrated into one carefully planned series. If possible, cooperating organizations should contribute financially to the station's activities. This might take the form of cash contributions or of supplying special equipment not otherwise available. Careful records should be kept by all participating groups so that future program planners will have access to data on man hours and costs.

A series of workshops, ranging in complexity from simple talks to experimental laboratory sessions might precede community cooperative program planning. Organization leaders would thus be brought face to face with practical television problems in terms of scripts, sets, props, lights, rehearsals and program types under the tutelage of professional television educators.

C. Personnel Resources. If there are to be television programs, there must be people to plan and produce them. Educational television stations have three chief personnel sources: 1) their own professional salaried staffs; 2) the faculties and students of local schools, colleges and universities; and 3) other interested and capable contributors in the community.

1. Station Staff. No station can operate successfully without a full-time professional staff to serve as the chief source for program ideas, planning and production.

2. Schools, Colleges and Universities. The educational television station has a very important personnel asset in the faculties and students of the schools, colleges and universities in its community. The staffs and faculty groups are a reservoir of knowledge and wisdom. They include men and women with special competence in all fields of learning who are committed

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to transmitting their knowledge to others. Some of these will be qualified to appear before television cameras; others, who for various reasons will not or should not personally participate as program talent, can furnish valuable source material for educational programs. School administrators should make it possible for some members of their faculty to give substantial amounts of time to television, remunerating them through release from other duties or additional salary allowances.

Students of all ages are a good potential source of both program and engineering talent. Institutions with television training programs should find their trained competent students an excellent manpower source.

3. Other contributors: It is difficult to list all the types of people in a given community who might contribute time and effort to an educational television station. Examples would include: public officials; distinguished visitors; public service organization leaders; subject matter experts; community theater staffs and actors; and musicians and artists. As in the case of contributing groups, however, these persons must not assume that they have an automatic right to take part in broadcasts; the station should retain full control over all personnel and should insist that participation always depend upon potential program contributions.

An educational television service to all parts of the nation is about to become a reality. Several educational stations are now on the air, and fifty construction permits are outstanding. Since the major centers of population -- such as St. Louis, Chicago, Boston, Detroit, San Francisco, Pittsburgh, Philadelphia, Houston and Los Angeles -- are included among these fifty communities, it is certain that this developing television service will have the potential for reaching the majority of television homes in America. An important factor will be the complete coverage of rural areas under such statewide

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plans as that adopted in Oklahoma. The involvement of educators, civic groups, legislatures, foundations and commercial interests in educational television is sufficient to indicate the possibility of a hundred educational television stations within the next five years.

The members of the 1953 Lincoln Lodge Seminar hope that the reports which grew out of their weeks' deliberations, together with the formal addresses which preceded them, will help give direction and purpose to these new educational television stations.

APPENDIX

ALLERTON HOUSE 1949, 1950*

Robert B. Hudson
Director of Broadcasting
University of Illinois

At long last educational broadcasters have discovered that they are not faint, isolated whispers in the broadcasting world. They have discovered for the first time that they are a part of something of great significance in America. Furthermore, among them is a general recognition not only that their role is important (they have always believed it to be), but that now there is some prospect of their controlling their own destiny.

For a group which has been broadcasting more or less regularly since the early 'twenties, and whose members stood with their few stations against economic and political buffeting in competitive seas better charted and more efficiently navigated by commercial broadcasters, such a discovery warrants a bit of looking into.

* Reproduced by permission of author and publisher from the Hollywood Quarterly, Vol. V, No. 3. The original version included the following descriptive note:

"Robert B. Hudson, Director of University Broadcasting at the University of Illinois, has been active in the fields of both education and radio. After some years of work in adult education, he organized and served as director of the Rocky Mountain Radio Council, an association of thirty colleges and universities which, since 1939, has been cooperating with commercial radio stations in presenting public-service programs. More recently, he was radio consultant to the OWI, and from 1945 to 1950 was director of Education and Opinion Broadcasts for the Columbia Broadcasting System.

"The seminars on educational broadcasting held at Allerton House, a conference center of the University of Illinois, were the outcome of conversations between John Marshall of the Rockefeller Foundation and Wilbur Schramm of the University of Illinois. Dean Schramm served as the director of the 1949 seminar, and Mr. Hudson as the general chairman of the seminar in 1950."

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The discovery that things were not what traditionally they seemed to be was made by a relatively small group of men meeting under circumstances which were hardly extraordinary. About twenty directors of educational radio stations and university program-producing centers were invited to Allerton House for two weeks in the summer of 1949 for a stocktaking of educational broadcasting. These men knew each other well--as a matter of fact they had been meeting together at conventions for years--and they had some acquaintance with the other fellow's problems. But common problems were usually overshadowed in these meetings by peculiarities of their specific application. The men who gathered at Allerton House were accustomed, too, to their "stepchild" role in American radio, and knew that not infrequently educational radio was accorded similar status on their home campuses as well. They had watched, during three postwar years, as commercial networks and stations dropped all pretext of educational broadcasting, substituting for it mainly the Advertising Council's public service formula--calls to action with little premium on understanding.

But commercial radio and its practices were not on the Allerton House agenda. Here was a chance for educational broadcasters to think cooperatively and consecutively about noncommercial radio. No one was present to sell them on a program or to draw the grand design. Their advisers were not there to remind them of a mission in life. Even the representatives of the radio industry came to be counted and to talk theoretically of free speech, rather than to recommend courses of action. They were on their own, and there was adequate time for soul searching.

The daily sessions of the seminar, planned in advance by a steering committee, tended to be overprogrammed for fear that time might hang heavy on the hands of a group of active radio men who found themselves suddenly set down in the heart of the Robert Allerton Park and almost literally withdrawn from the world. But before two days had passed, the agenda was scuttled and the whole group was aflame over the central question: "What is the job of educational broadcasting?" What is it doing? What is it

not doing which it should be doing? What properly should be expected of it? What is its role in American life and culture? What is it waiting for? Questions like these completely consumed the attention of the group in its scheduled meetings, in rump sessions, in committees, at meals, in the Monticello tavern, and in countless bull sessions. As the group buckled down to its task, it seemed that suddenly a great truth had been revealed which long had haunted every man present but which had seldom escaped from deep in his subconscious--the truth that educational radio not only has a job to do, but it is capable of doing it. The sheer relief in getting at this matter was electrifying; the wall of repression, buttressed by years of rationalizations and expedencies, came tumbling down and educational radio, for the first time in its turbulent history, was on the move.

Throughout the days which followed, a practical, forward-looking operational pattern took form, but not before the group painstakingly reviewed and restated the nature and the goals of educational broadcasting.

The Allerton seminar asserted that the aims of educational broadcasting are the broad aims of education; that education in a democracy has the responsibility of lifting the level of understanding and appreciation of the people, of giving the individual a knowledge of himself and his society and of the sources of tensions and perplexities in each; that in a free society it is essential that the individual have a continuing sense of belonging and participating, of keeping up with a complex and fast-moving world; that it is the responsibility of education to foster and further that feeling of belonging and counting.

The seminar pointed out that educational broadcasting has been most clearly distinguished by its high concern for integrity in the selection and handling of materials, and by its consistent dedication to social purpose. This purposeful activity has taken several forms, among which are: (1) informing, (2) stimulating the individual to organize and give meaning to information, (3) contributing to the understandings that make for better human relations and adjustment, (4) broadening participation in the

culture of our society, (5) acting as an outlet for the varied expressions of the community which the station serves, and acting as a force within the community to help it solve its problems, and (6) leading the way, by experiment toward new forms and activities of broadcasting. On this latter point the seminar gave appropriate emphasis to the truism that people cannot come to like what they have never experienced, thus underlining the basic fallacy of the program popularity-rating systems as program determinants. It went on to reassert that broadcasters must provide that variety of experience which permits and encourages the development of tastes and interests. For broadcasters, this implies an obligation to experiment with both form and content.

In a forthright indictment of narrowly conceived policies and practices, the seminar argued that educational broadcasting, like education itself, cannot in a democracy be the prerogative of a privileged few. Educators on the air have often tried to serve the needs of such limited groups as have already been exposed to the benefits of considerable formal education. There is danger that these special services will be given too great an emphasis and that the medium will fail to carry information, understanding, and culture to the large portions of the general public which are not highly educated and are therefore more difficult to reach with serious material. The seminar argued further that the effort should be made directly and frequently, by educational broadcasters, to reach and serve the greatest possible number of people, always bearing in mind the fact that the universal audience is made up of a number of publics, and that generally speaking no one program will reach all these publics and therefore all the audience.

It should be noted here that a program intended to appeal to the universal audience must be based upon interests common to all people, and such interests are rare indeed. There are many elements which tend to limit the universal audience, such as age, sex, educational background, occupation, economic status, place of residence, the form of the program selected, the difficulty of the presentation, and the selection of the area of the

problem. It should also be noted that each individual finds himself in many and quite different listening publics.

The seminar spent much time trying to think through and resolve satisfactorily the "mass vs. class" issue. Commercial broadcasters, now even more than in earlier years, appear to be programming for the mass--or, perhaps more accurately, the largest realizable minority--audience. While leaving the so-called mass audience to the entertainment-centered commercial interests, the educational broadcaster must not fall equally captive to the class audience. The seminar reasoned it this way: one great purpose of the educational broadcaster is to render service to those publics which are not otherwise being served. In creating a program for any public in terms of the need or interest that defines that public, the broadcaster will try to reach the entire public. When broadcasting is serving the interest of such publics, the size of the obtained audience is not to be measured against the size of the universal audience, but rather against the size of the public selected. When the public is small, the obtained audience will, of course, be small. If the need or interest served is important, the smallness of the audience may be justified. But there is no merit in smallness of audience in itself. If the potential audience for the program is large and the obtained audience is small, the situation should be analyzed carefully to make certain that the size of audience is not a result of poor audience promotion or lack of imagination and skill in program design.

The deliberations of the seminar went beyond the broad examination of purposes and the assessment of responsibility for serving audiences of various sizes and compositions. Critical attention was given to the nature of noncommercial broadcasting. It was pointed out that our social structure recognizes both profitmaking and non-profit institutions. The school and the university have as clear a place in our society as the small business and the corporation. Both profit and nonprofit institutions support the American way of life.

Furthermore, society requires different services from the two kinds of institutions. The educational institution and its broadcasting arm exist entirely to render public service and to make education widely available. Their success is judged not by economic results, but by achievement in reaching this educational objective. The noncommercial broadcaster, no less than the commercial, is dependent upon proper financing, skills, techniques, knowledge of his audience, and limitations of the medium. But the similarities of his operation to commercial operation are dictated by the requirements of the medium, rather than by purposes and goals. Some educational institutions maintain their own facilities; others, through their production departments, use available time on commercial stations; still others use both. Whatever the avenue used, these institutions must meet professional standards of production. But whereas the commercial station in its daily program design must emphasize the common denominators of public taste, and reflect in many of its programs the widespread popular desire for relaxation and escape, the educational station operator can aim his programs at the wide variety of special needs and interests in his audience. He can program for unserved segments of the universal audience, for special areas or special needs. He can offer a service flexible enough to meet individual differences, and can reflect the total resources of education in terms that will appeal, at different times, to all segments of the audience. Especially if he has his own station, he can provide the continuity of programming which is so essential to the educational process, on a regular and long-time basis rather than the limited and sporadic basis which limits the educational broadcasting of commercial stations. He can do this because his primary purpose is education. Whereas a commercial broadcaster may highlight a public service or educational program with great production skill and for a large ready-made audience, the noncommercial broadcaster can design his entire program structure in the light of educational needs and resources.

ROBERT B. HUDSON

From these general discussions of philosophy and objectives, the 1949 Allerton House seminar moved to some considerations of implementation. It outlined a program which the individual educational broadcaster might follow in assessing community needs and resources, developing new program techniques, building audiences, developing areas of research and "pilot plant" experiments, and training personnel. The largest and by far the most important step it took, however, lay in its spelling out what educational broadcasters working together can do. The seminar recommended and indeed set in motion plans for (1) a central service for sharing programs, by tape or transcription, and (2) a long-range plan for an educational network and a well-financed program-producing center.

The single most important factor contributing to the slow growth and development of educational broadcasting over the years has been the unfavorable ratio of program staff and resources to the number of hours in the broadcast day. It is obvious that a simple exchange of the better programs produced by each educational station or university program-producing center would not only relieve the pressure on each staff, but upgrade the program output as well. A central program-producing service would supplement this exchange and bring exciting new resources and production skills to bear all along the line.

The 1949 Allerton House seminar adjourned on this note of hope and dedication. The prologue had been written. The charge set off is still reverberating, firing imaginations, and igniting new actions in many quarters. A postseminar committee which included in its membership Richard B. Hull, director of the Iowa State College station WOI (AM-FM-TV); George Probst, director of the University of Chicago Round Table; and Harold McCarty, director of the University of Wisconsin station WHA and the Wisconsin State FM network, immediately began the task of formulating the long-range plan for organizing a network of educational stations, developing a central program-producing service, and exploring possible sources of financial support for the

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enterprise. Concurrently Seymour Siegel, director of the New York City stations WNYC and WNYC-FM, took the initiative in implementing the program-exchange proposal of the seminar. Mr. Siegel and his staff inaugurated the "bicycle network" in the fall of 1949. Its operation involved the routing of tape recordings of high-quality educational programs from station to station around the country. This practical demonstration of self-help caught on quickly, and within the short space of one year the "bicycle network" is providing four hours of programs per week to twenty-eight educational stations from Boston to Los Angeles, and from Minneapolis to Baton Rouge.

In view of the encouraging and dynamic results of the first Allerton House seminar, its sponsor, the Division of Communications of the University of Illinois, proposed a second one. Again the Humanities Division of the Rockefeller Foundation agreed to underwrite the out-of-pocket expenses of participants and visiting staff. The National Association of Educational Broadcasters gave its enthusiastic endorsement to the proposal. Where the first seminar was chiefly concerned with policy--what is the job of educational broadcasting?--clearly the 1950 Allerton House seminar should address itself to program content--what to say, and how to say it effectively.

It is worth noting in this connection that the end product of radio--the program--is the area most neglected by broadcasters. There are literally no meetings of broadcasters in America where programs are the central concern. Attention to them is confined to gross audience pull as it is reflected in ratings. Program content is examined only as a likely culprit in instances of low circulation. Such other attention as programs may get is likely to be centered on production techniques and the peculiar disciplines of the medium, rather than on program content and meaningful communication.

The planners of the second Allerton House seminar turned their backs firmly on the studio-technique emphasis in production, important though it is, and resolved that the seminar should concern itself with "idea production," or idea communication through the medium of radio. This time the seminar would be composed not of educational station

executives as in the first instance, but of program and production directors--the young men and women in educational stations who have the privilege and the responsibility of building programs from their very inception, taking them through their several stages of development and, finally, through the actual air performance. These are the key people in radio programming, and the 1950 seminar was conceived and organized on a basis calculated to help them take a fresh look at education's resources, at the programmer's problem of drawing significance from these resources, and at ways and means of effectively communicating that significance.

In lifting program people, for a fortnight, out of their day-by-day routine of broadcasting for the purpose of helping them in testing and resetting their sights, the obvious and most promising method was to bring them into contact with fine minds, each of which was a specialist in a field educationally and socially important. Following this plan, guests of the 1950 Allerton House seminar, for a day or two each, included Allan Nevins in history, Robert Redfield in the social sciences, Kenneth Hudson in the fine arts, Wilbur Schramm in communications effects, Walter Agard in literature, Richard McKeon in philosophy, Dr. A. C. Ivy in medical sciences, Clifton Utley and Phillips Talbot in public affairs, Le Cronbach in educational psychology, O. H. Mowrer in mental hygiene, and David Randolph in music. Fred S. Siebert and Charles Sandage joined up for special sessions, respectively, on government regulations as they affect programs and on audience research.

These men gave active leadership as the seminar explored subject areas which, heretofore, have remained largely unworked by broadcasters, and other areas not unfamiliar to radio listeners but in which the broadcasts have been conceived narrowly. The sessions alternately took on the characteristics of a master-student relationship and the pointed interrogations of a closed-circuit "Meet the Press." Members of the seminar were hard taskmasters and the discussions were vital and penetrating. Practicality was assured through the participation, in all sessions, of either Robert Lewis Shayon or

Homer Heck, two of the abler and more experienced commercial network producers. The "technical-consultant-in-residence" role of these men contributed greatly in bridging the gap between theory and practice, and their evaluations for the medium of the scores of ideas introduced from the several substantive areas was especially noteworthy.

The 1950 Allerton House seminar kept records of its discussions in abridged form. All members of the seminar participated in drafting the summaries, and the combined reports of the daily sessions constitute an imposing document. Already these are being drawn upon heavily in program planning by most educational stations. Obviously, these daily reports cannot be reproduced here; neither can one do justice to major subject areas by thumbnailing the discussions of them. Suffice it for purposes of conveying some insight into the nature of the seminar to give here a few excerpts from the seminar notes on the discussions devoted to the problem of broadcasting literature, guided by Professor Walter R. Agard.

A literary work is basically a work of art, declared the seminar. It is also in its content a social document. It is a door to the comprehensive understanding of a whole culture. "Confronted by a work of art," as Alfred North Whitehead says, "the individual has an experience limited only by his own ability to respond to it in terms of these three consecutive steps in learning: (1) romance, through awareness of its interest, importance, and vitality; (2) precision, through the understanding of its tools and techniques; (3) generalization, through realization of its relation to the whole of life." "Educators," Professor Agard observed, "too often begin with the second step; radio rarely goes beyond the first."

The seminar agreed that radio, so far, has tended to reflect the episodic nature of American life. Just as we live in "fifteen-minute shots," so our approach to literature has been fragmentary, undirected, and incoherent. Radio should give to the study of literature a more integrated continuity and should evoke in the listener a sense of growth and achievement.

The seminar recognized three basic approaches to the presentation of literature on the air. One may present the literary work itself, either in its original form or through adaptation or condensation. One may review the work, revealing what may be found in the work. Or one may interpret, analyze, or criticize, presenting material which illuminates the work, evaluates it, or reveals its significance. Sometimes two or more of these methods may be combined. Professor Agard argued that there is danger of losing sight of the purpose when combining criticism with the work itself on the same program. Presenting the work directly and without comment is effective in itself. Literature can stand on its own feet. It is provocative, and listening to it is an active process which results in a degree of learning at the listener's level of understanding. Radio assists this process through its faculty of speaking to the listener directly and personally. It relieves the listener of the responsibility of the mechanics of the reading process, permitting greater participation.

Criteria for selecting the form for presenting literary works by radio were observed by the seminar to include: (1) the validity of the form in which the author has chosen to cast his work, whether novel, play, short story, poem, or essay; (2) the appropriateness of the form to the purpose of the program; (3) the suitability of the form to the medium of radio, and (4) the consistency of the form with the resources of the broadcaster. In the light of these considerations, a play might be read by a single voice, a story dramatized, an essay rewritten as a panel discussion or a dialogue. However, a broadcaster may well consider the validity of the author's choice of form the most compelling factor.

The seminar felt strongly on the point that purposive organization of literary works and analytical comment into an integrated "course" or series of programs makes possible a greater sense of continuity and achievement. The listener has a sense of "going somewhere" or of a deepening experience. Organization may be through a series of programs the same day each week, or through programming an entire evening around different

aspects of a single unifying idea, if it is to accomplish this integrated effect. The approaches to literature around which a program series might be unified are many and varied:

1. A study of the growth of important ideas may be traced in the great literature of history, as in the currently popular Great Books series which, though stimulating, is not truly integrated.

2. A study of a particular idea, as developed by successive authors in literature, may point up the idea of democracy or the problem of man and his environment. Just as the previous approach selects a group of authors and studies their ideas, this approach selects an idea and studies the authors who have advanced it. A kind of concordance of ideas, The Syntopicon, is being compiled by the University of Chicago, listing the contributions of a large number of authors to certain ideas.

3. Great single works, such as War and Peace, may be presented in installments.

4. A chronological study of an author may be presented under a general subject, such as "The Development of Ibsen as a Dramatist."

5. The works of the same author may be approached through systematic study, such as "A Three-Dimensional Appraisal of Ibsen as a Social Critic."

6. Literature is an organic part of the whole culture which produces it, so a period or culture may be revealed through its literature.

7. The origin, development, and uses of a particular literary form or type may deepen the listener's appreciation of the epic poem, social satire, or drama. An example of this type is the WHA series, History and Myth in Drama.

8. The development of an historic or legendary story may be presented as treated by different authors, such as Amphytrion or the Fall of Troy.

The same kind of analysis and systematic study which characterized the seminar's attention to goals and techniques in broadcasting literature prevailed in all other discussions throughout the seventeen days at Allerton House. The examination of subject

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areas resulted in far more than the mere spelling out of new program series for educational stations. Program discussions included the program concept, selection and treatment of materials, and knowledge of the wants and needs of selected audiences.

The benefits of the seminar cannot be generalized on a group basis or in terms of mere program-performance goals; its impact on the lives of the individual participants was impressive but difficult to assess. In a letter written after the seminar, one participant put it this way: "It was an extremely stimulating intellectual experience. I was made painfully aware of how slack I had been in continuing my education beyond college walls and college years. The shove this experience gave me has overcome my inertia and has given me sufficient impetus for a good hard program of continuing, purposeful self-instruction. The end result should be a better equipped program director."

The Allerton House seminars have been of immeasurable value to the cause of educational broadcasting. They provided stimulus when stimulus was needed, and they provided a basis for coordinated action when combined strength was needed in seizing the opportunities which beckoned. Today, to paraphrase a slogan, educational programs are better than ever. In addition, the "bicycle network" is rolling, a greatly stepped-up tape network operation is being established at the University of Illinois, progress is being made on the long-range plan for a program-producing center, and education is making a unified bid for the reservation of an adequate number of television channels for its exclusive use. If educational broadcasting is on the move, and it appears to be gaining momentum month by month, I believe it is fair to sum up the spirit and the singular contribution of the Allerton House seminars in the words of Anatole France: "Don't flatter yourself with teaching a great number of details. Put spark to the spirit and people will catch fire where they are inflammable."

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